This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

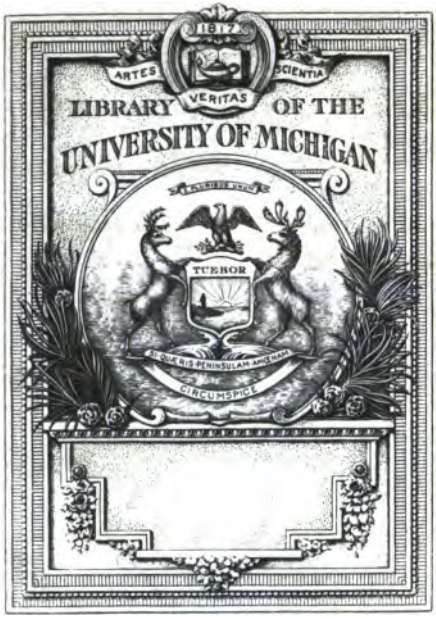
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

John Harrison.

DA
27
.B68
1768


1817
ARTES
SCIENTIA
VERITAS
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
TUEBOR
CIRCUMSPICE

THE MISSCELLANEOUS WORKS

Of the Right Honourable

HENRY St. JOHN,

Lord Viscount BOLINGBROKE.

VOLUME IV.

Bolingbroke, Henry ... [illegible]

THE

MISSCELLANEOUS

WORKS

Of the RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY ST. JOHN,

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

VOLUME IV.

CONTAINING,

I. A Letter to SIR WILLIAM WINDHAM.
II. REFLECTIONS on the Preſent State of the Nation.
III. Letters on the SPIRIT of PATRIOTISM.
IV. On the IDEA of a PATRIOT KING.
V. On the STATE of PARTIES at the Acceſſion of KING GEORGE the FIRST.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for A. DONALDSON, and ſold at his Shops in London and Edinburgh.

M DCC LXVIII.

Lib.
Milan
9-21-37
34703

CONTENTS of Vol. IV.

Page

A Letter to Sir William Windham, — 1

Reflections on the preſent State of the Nation, principally with regard to her Taxes and her debts; and on the Cauſes and Conſequences of them, —— —— 127

On the Spirit of Patriotiſm, —— 173

The Idea of a Patriot King, — — 217

On the State of Parties at the Acceſſion of King George I. — — — 313

EDINBURGH
9-24-37

A

LETTER

TO

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM.

Written in the Year M.DCC.XVII.

By the Right Honourable

HENRY St. JOHN,

Lord Viscount BOLINGBROKE.

A

LETTER

TO

SIR WILLIAM WINDHAM.

I WAS well enough acquainted with the general character of mankind, and in particular with that of my own countrymen, to expect to be as much out of the minds of the Tories during my exile, as if we had never lived and acted together. I depended on being forgot by them; and was far from imagining it poſſible that I ſhould be remembered, only to be condemned loudly by one half of them, and to be tacitly cenſured by the greateſt part of the other half. As ſoon as I was ſeparated from the pretender and his intereſt, I declared myſelf to be ſo; and I gave directions for writing into England what I judged ſufficient to put my friends on their guard againſt any ſurpriſe concerning an event, which it was their intereſt, as well as mine, that they ſhould be very rightly informed about.

As ſoon as the pretender's adherents began to clamour againſt me in this country, and to diſperſe

their ſcandal by circular letters every where elſe, I gave directions for writing into England again. Their groundleſs articles of accuſation were refuted, and enough was ſaid to give my friends a general idea of what had happened to me, and at leaſt to make them ſuſpend the fixing any opinion till ſuch time as I ſhould be able to write more fully and plainly to them myſelf. To condemn no perſon unheard, is a rule of natural equity, which we ſee rarely violated in Turky, or in the country where I am writing: that it would not be ſo with me in Great Britain, I confeſs that I flattered myſelf. I dwelt ſecurely in this confidence, and gave very little attention to any of thoſe ſcurrilous methods, which were taken about this time to blaſt my reputation. The event of things has ſhewn, that I truſted too much to my own innocence, and to the juſtice of my old friends.

It was obvious, that the chevalier and the Earl of Mar hoped to load me with the imputation of treachery, incapacity, or neglect: it was indifferent to them of which. If they could aſcribe to one of thoſe their not being ſupported from France, they imagined that they ſhould juſtify their precipitate flight from Scotland, which many of their faſteſt friends exclaimed againſt; and that they ſhould varniſh over that original capital fault, the drawing the Highlanders together in arms at the time and in the manner in which it was done.

The Scots, who fell at once from all the ſanguine expectations with which they had been ſoothed, and who found themſelves reduced to deſpair, were eaſy to be incenſed: they had received no ſup-

port

port whatever, and it was natural for them rather to believe that they failed of this ſupport by my fault, than to imagine their general had prevailed on them to riſe in the very point of time when it was impoſſible that they ſhould be ſupported from France, or from any other part of the world. The Duke of Ormond, who had been the bubble of his own popularity, was enough out of humour with the general turn of affairs to be eaſily ſet againſt any particular man. The emiſſaries of this court, whoſe commiſſion was to amuſe, had impoſed upon him all along; and there were other buſy people who thought to find their account in having him to themſelves. I had never been in his ſecret whilſt we were in England together: and from his firſt coming into France he was either prevailed upon by others, or, which I rather believe, he concurred with others to keep me out of it. The perfect indifference I ſhewed whether I was in it or no, might carry him from acting ſeparately, to act againſt me.

The whole tribe of Iriſh and other Papiſts were ready to ſeize the firſt opportunity of venting their ſpleen againſt a man, who had conſtantly avoided all intimacy with them; who acted in the ſame cauſe, but on a different principle, and who meant no one thing in the world leſs, than raiſing them to the advantages, which they expected.

That theſe ſeveral perſons, for the reaſons I have mentioned, ſhould join in a cry againſt me, is not very marvellous: the contrary would be ſo to a man who knows them as well as I do. But that the Engliſh Tories ſhould ſerve as echos to them, nay more, that my character ſhould continue doubt-

ful at beſt amongſt you, when thoſe who firſt propagated the ſlander are become aſhamed of railing without proof, and have dropped the clamour, this I own that I never expected: and I may be allowed to ſay, that as it is an extreme ſurpriſe, ſo it ſhall be a leſſon to me.

The Whigs impeached and attainted me. They went farther—at leaſt, in my way of thinking, that ſtep was more cruel than all the others—by a partial repreſentation of facts, and pieces of facts, put together as it beſt ſuited their purpoſe, and publiſhed to the whole world, they did all that in them lay to expoſe me for a fool, and to brand me for a knave. But then I had deſerved this abundantly at their hands, according to the notions of party-juſtice. The Tories have not indeed impeached nor attainted me; but they have done, and are ſtill doing ſomething very like to that which I took worſe of the Whigs, than the impeachment and attainder: and this, after I have ſhewn an inviolable attachment to the ſervice, and almoſt an implicit obedience to the will of the party; when I am actually an out-law, deprived of my honours, ſtripped of my fortune, and cut off from my family and my country, for their ſakes.

Some of the perſons who have ſeen me here, and with whom I have had the pleaſure to talk of you, may, perhaps, have told you, that, far from being oppreſſed by that ſtorm of misfortunes in which I have been toſſed of late, I bear up againſt it with firmneſs enough, and even with alacrity. It is true, I do ſo: but it is true likewiſe, that the laſt burſt of the cloud has gone near to overwhelm me.

From

From our enemies we expect evil treatment of every ſort, we are prepared for it, we are animated by it, and we ſometimes triumph in it: but when our friends abandoned us, when they wound us, and when they take, to do this, an occaſion where we ſtand the moſt in need of their ſupport, and have the beſt title to it, the firmeſt mind finds it hard to reſiſt.

Nothing kept up my ſpirits when I was firſt reduced to the very circumſtances I now deſcribe, ſo much as the conſideration of the deluſions under which I knew that the Tories lay, and the hopes I entertained of being able ſoon to open their eyes, and to juſtify my conduct. I expected that friendſhip, or, if that principle failed, curioſity at leaſt, would move the party to ſend over ſome perſon, from whoſe report they might have both ſides of the queſtion laid before them. Though this expectation be founded in reaſon, and you want to be informed, at leaſt as much as I do to be juſtified; yet I have hitherto flattered myſelf with it in vain. To repair this misfortune, therefore, as far as lies in my power, I reſolve to put into writing the ſum of what I ſhould have ſaid in that caſe. Theſe papers ſhall ly by me till time and accidents produce ſome occaſion of communicating them to you. The true occaſion of doing it, with advantage to the party, will probably be loſt: but they will remain a monument of my juſtification to poſterity. At worſt, if even this fails me, I am ſure of one ſatisfaction in writing them; the ſatisfaction of unburdening my mind to a friend, and of ſtating before an equitable judge the account, as I apprehend it to ſtand, between the

Tories and myſelf. *Quantum humano conſilio efficere potui, circumſpectis rebus meis omnibus, rationibuſque ſubductis, ſummam feci cogitationum mearum omnium, quam tibi, ſi potero, breviter exponam.*

It is neceſſary to my deſign that I call to your mind the ſtate of affairs in Britain, from the latter part of the year 1710, to the beginning of the year 1715, about which time we parted. I go no farther back, becauſe the part which I acted before that time, in the firſt eſſays I made in public affairs, was the party of a Tory, and ſo far of a piece with that which I acted afterwards. Beſides, things which preceded this ſpace of time had no immediate influence on thoſe which happened ſince that time; whereas the ſtrange events, which we have ſeen fall out in the king's reign, were owing in a great meaſure to what was done, or neglected to be done, in the laſt four years of the queen's. The memory of theſe events being freſh, I ſhall dwell as little as poſſible upon them. It will be ſufficient that I make a rough ſketch of the face of the court, and of the conduct of the ſeveral parties during that time. Your memory will ſoon furniſh the colours which I ſhall omit to lay, and finiſh up the picture.

From the time at which I left Britain I had not the advantage of acting under the eyes of the party which I ſerved, nor of being able, from time to time, to appeal to their judgement. The groſs of what happened has appeared; but the particular ſteps, which led to thoſe events, have been either concealed or miſrepreſented: concealed from the nature of them, or miſrepreſented by thoſe with whom

whom I never agreed perfectly, except in thinking, they and I were extremely unfit to continue embarked in the ſame bottom together. It will, therefore, be proper to deſcend, under this head, to a more particular relation.

In the ſummer of the year 1710 the queen was prevailed upon to change her parliament and her miniſtry. The intrigue of the Earl of Oxford might facilitate the means, the violent proſecution of Sacheverel, and other unpopular meaſures, might create the occaſion, and encourage her in the reſolution: but the true original cauſe was the perſonal ill uſage which ſhe received in her private life, and in ſome trifling inſtances of the exerciſe of her power; for indulgence in which ſhe would certainly have left the reins of government in thoſe hands, which had held them ever ſince her acceſſion to the throne.

I am afraid that we came to court in the ſame diſpoſitions as all parties have done; that the principal ſpring of our actions was to have the government of the ſtate in our hands; that our principal views were the conſervation of this power, great employments to ourſelves, and great opportunities of rewarding thoſe who had helped to raiſe us, and of hurting thoſe who ſtood in oppoſition to us. It is however true, that with theſe conſiderations of private and party intereſt there were others intermingled, which had for their object the public good of the nation, at leaſt what we took to be ſuch.

We looked on the political principles, which had generally prevailed in our government from the revolution in 1688, to be deſtructive of our true intereſt, to have mingled us too much in the affairs of

of the continent, to tend to the impoverishing our people, and to the loosening the bands of our constitution in church and state. We supposed the Tory party to be the bulk of the landed interest, and to have no contrary influence blended into its composition. We supposed the Whigs to be the remains of a party, formed against the ill designs of the court under King Charles the second, nursed up into strength and applied to contrary uses by King William the third, and yet still so weak as to lean for support on the Presbyterians and the other sectaries, on the bank and the other corporations, on the Dutch and the other allies. From hence we judged it to follow, that they had been forced, and must continue so, to render the national interest subservient to the interest of those who lent them an additional strength, without which they could never be the prevalent party. The view, therefore, of those amongst us, who thought in this manner, was to improve the queen's favour to break the body of the Whigs, to render their supports useless to them, and to fill the employments of the kingdom, down to the meanest, with Tories. We imagined that such measures, joined to the advantages of our numbers and our property, would secure us against all attempts during her reign; and that we should soon become too considerable, not to make our terms in all events which might happen afterwards: concerning which, to speak truly, I believe few or none of us had any very settled resolution.

In order to bring these purposes about, I verily think, that the persecution of dissenters entered into no man's head. By the bills for preventing occasional

nal conformity and the growth of ſchiſm, it was hoped that their ſting would be taken away. Theſe bills were thought neceſſary for our party intereſt, and beſides were deemed neither unreaſonable nor unjuſt. The good of ſociety may require, that no perſon ſhould be deprived of the protection of the government on account of his opinions in religious matters; but it does not follow from hence, that men ought to be truſted in any degree with the preſervation of the eſtabliſhment, who muſt, to be conſiſtent with their principles, endeavour the ſubverſion of what is eſtabliſhed. An indulgence to conſciences, which the prejudice of education and long habits have rendered ſcrupulous, may be agreeable to the rules of good policy and of humanity: yet will it hardly follow from hence, that a government is under any obligation to indulge a tenderneſs of conſcience to come; or connive at the propagating of theſe prejudices, and at the forming of theſe habits. The evil effect is without remedy, and may therefore deſerve indulgence; but the evil cauſe is to be prevented, and can, therefore, be intitled to none. Beſides this, the bills I am ſpeaking of, rather than to enact any thing new, ſeemed only to enforce the obſervation of ancient laws; which had been judged neceſſary for the ſecurity of the church and ſtate at a time, when the memory of the ruin of both, and of the hands by which that ruin had been wrought, was freſh in the minds of men.

The bank, the Eaſt-India company, and in general the moneyed intereſt, had certainly nothing to apprehend like what they feared, or affected to fear from the Tories, an entire ſubverſion of their property

perty. Multitudes of our own party would have been wounded by ſuch a blow. The intention of thoſe, who were the warmeſt, ſeemed to me to go no farther than reſtraining their influence on the legiſlature, and on matters of ſtate; and finding at a proper ſeaſon means to make them contribute to the ſupport and eaſe of a government, under which they enjoyed advantages ſo much greater than the reſt of their fellow ſubjects. The miſchievous conſequence which had been foreſeen, and foretold too, at the eſtabliſhment of thoſe corporations, appeared viſibly. The country gentlemen were vexed, put to great expences and even baffled by them in their elections: and among the members of every parliament numbers were immediately or indirectly under their influence. The bank had been extravagant enough to pull off the maſk; and, when the queen ſeemed to intend a change in her miniſtry, they had deputed ſome of their members to repreſent againſt it. But that which touched ſenſibly even thoſe who were but little affected by other conſiderations, was the prodigious inequality between the condition of the moneyed men and of the reſt of the nation. The proprietor of the land, and the merchant who brought riches home by the returns of foreign trade, had during two wars bore the whole immenſe load of the national expences; whilſt the lender of money, who added nothing to the common ſtock, throve by the public calamity, and contributed not a mite to the public charge.

As to the allies, I ſaw no difference of opinion among all thoſe who came to the head of affairs at this time. Such of the Tories as were in the ſyſtem above-

abovementioned, ſuch of them as deſerted ſoon after from us, and ſuch of the Whigs as had upon this occaſion deſerted to us, ſeemed equally convinced of the unreaſonableneſs, and even of the impoſſibility, of continuing the war on the ſame diſproportionate foot. Their univerſal ſenſe was, that we had taken, except the part of the States General, the whole burden of the war upon us, and even a proportion of this; while the entire advantage was to accrue to others: That this had appeared very groſsly in 1709, and 1710, when preliminaries were inſiſted upon, which contained all that the allies, giving the greateſt looſe to their wiſhes, could deſire, and little or nothing on the behalf of Great Britain: That the war which had been begun for the ſecurity of the allies, was continued for their grandeur; that the ends propoſed, when we engaged in it, might have been anſwered long before, and therefore that the firſt favourable occaſion ought to be ſeized of making peace; which we thought to be the intereſt of our country, and which appeared to all mankind, as well as to us, to be that of our party.

Theſe were in general the views of the Tories: and for the part I acted in the proſecution of them, as well as of all the meaſures acceſſory to them, I may appeal to mankind. To thoſe who had the opportunity of looking behind the curtain, I may likewiſe appeal for the difficulties which lay in my way, and for the particular diſcouragements which I met with. A principal load of parliamentary and foreign affairs, in their ordinary courſe, lay upon me: the whole negotiation of the peace, and of

the

the troubleſome invidious ſteps preliminary to it, as far as they could be tranſacted at home, were thrown upon me. I continued in the houſe of commons during that important ſeſſion which preceded the peace; and which, by the ſpirit ſhewn through the whole courſe of it, and by the reſolutions taken in it, rendered the concluſion of the treaties practicable. After this I was dragged into the houſe of lords; in ſuch a manner as to make my promotion a puniſhment, not a reward; and was there left to defend the treaties almoſt alone.

It would not have been hard, to have forced the Earl of Oxford to uſe me better. His good intentions began to be very much doubted of: the truth is, no opinion of his ſincerity had ever taken root in the party; and, which was worſe perhaps for a man in his ſtation, the opinion of his capacity began to fall apace. He was ſo hard puſhed in the houſe of lords, in the beginning of 1712, that he had been forced, in the middle of the ſeſſion, to perſuade the Queen to make a promotion of twelve peers at once; which was an unprecedented and invidious meaſure, to be excuſed by nothing but the neceſſity, and hardly by that. In the houſe of commons his credit was low, and my reputation very high. You know the nature of that aſſembly; they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who ſhews them game, and by whoſe halloo they are uſed to be encouraged. The thread of the negotiations, which could not ſtand ſtill a moment without going back, was in my hands; and before another man could have made himſelf maſter of the buſineſs, much time would have been loſt, and great inconveniencies

veniencies would have followed. Some, who oppoſed the court ſoon after, began to waver then; and if I had not wanted the inclination, I ſhould have wanted no help to do miſchief. I knew the way of quitting my employments, and of retiring from court when the ſervice of my party required it: but I could not bring myſelf up to that reſolution, when the conſequence of it muſt have been the breaking my party, and the diſtreſs of the public affairs. I thought my miſtreſs treated me ill: but the ſenſe of that duty which I owed her, came in aid of other conſiderations, and prevailed over my reſentment. Theſe ſentiments, indeed, are ſo much out of faſhion, that a man who avows them is in danger of paſſing for a bubble in the world: yet they were, in the conjuncture I ſpeak of, the true motives of my conduct; and you ſaw me go on as cheerfully in the troubleſome and dangerous work aſſigned me, as if I had been under the utmoſt ſatisfaction. I began, indeed, in my heart, to renounce the friendſhip which, till that time, I had preſerved inviolable for Oxford. I was not aware of all his treachery, nor of the baſe and little means which he employed then, and continued to employ afterwards, to ruin me in the opinion of the Queen, and every where elſe. I ſaw, however, that he had no friendſhip for any body, and that with reſpect to me, inſtead of having the ability to render that merit, which I endeavoured to acquire, an addition of ſtrength to himſelf, it became the object of his jealouſy, and a reaſon for undermining me. In this temper of mind I went on, till the great work of the peace was conſummated, and the

treaty ſigned at Utrecht: after which a new and more melancholy ſcene for the party, as well as for me, opened itſelf.

I am far from thinking the treaties, or the negotiations which led to them, exempt from faults. Many were made no doubt in both, by thoſe who were concerned in them; by myſelf, in the firſt place; and many were owing purely to the oppoſition they met with in every ſtep of their progreſs. I never look back on this great event, paſſed as it is, without a ſecret emotion of mind; when I compare the vaſtneſs of the undertaking, and the importance of its ſucceſs, with the means employed to bring it about, and with thoſe which were employed to traverſe it. To adjuſt the pretenſions, and to ſettle the intereſt of ſo many princes and ſtates, as were engaged in the late war, would appear, when conſidered ſimply and without any adventitious difficulty, a work of prodigious extent. But this was not all. Each of our allies thought himſelf entitled to raiſe his demands to the moſt extravagant height. They had been encouraged to this, firſt, by the engagements which we had entered into with ſeveral of them, with ſome to draw them into the war, with others to prevail on them to continue in it; and, ſecondly, by the manner in which we had treated with France in 1709-10. Thoſe who intended to tie the knot of the war as hard, and to render the coming at a peace as impracticable as they could, had found no method ſo effectual as that of leaving every one at liberty to inſiſt on all he could think of, and leaving themſelves at liberty, even if theſe conceſſions ſhould be made, to break the

the treaty by ulterior demands. That this was the ſecret, I can make no doubt after the confeſſion of one of the * plenipotentiaries who tranſacted theſe matters, and who communicated to me and to two others of the Queen's miniſters an inſtance of the Duke of Marlborough's management at a critical moment, when the French miniſters at Gertruden-burg ſeemed inclinable to come into an expedient for explaining the thirty-ſeventh article of the preliminaries, which could not have been refuſed. Certain it is, that the king of France was at that time in earneſt to execute the article of Philip's abdication; and therefore the expedients for adjuſting what related to this article would eaſily enough have been found, if on our part there had been a real intention of concluding. But there was no ſuch intention; and the plan of thoſe who meant to prolong the war was eſtabliſhed among the allies, as the plan which ought to be followed whenever a peace came to be treated. The allies imagined that they had a right to obtain, at leaſt, every thing which had been demanded for them reſpectively: and it was viſible that nothing leſs would content them. Theſe conſiderations ſet the vaſtneſs of the undertaking in a ſufficient light.

The importance of ſucceeding, in the work of the peace, was equally great to Europe, to our country, to our party, to our perſons, to the preſent age, and to future generations. But I need not take pains to prove what no man will deny. The means employed to bring it about were in no de-

* Buy's Penſionary of Amſterdam.

gree proportionable. A few men, ſome of whom had never been concerned in buſineſs of this kind before, and moſt of whom put their hands for a long time to it faintly and timorouſly, were the inſtruments of it. The miniſter who was at their head ſhewed himſelf every day incapable of that attention, that method, that comprehenſion of different matters, which the firſt poſt in ſuch a government as ours requires in quiet times. He was the firſt ſpring of all our motion by his credit with the Queen, and his concurrence was neceſſary to every thing we did by his rank in the ſtate; and yet this man ſeemed to be ſometimes aſleep, and ſometimes at play. He neglected the thread of buſineſs; which was carried on, for this reaſon, with leſs diſpatch and leſs advantage in the proper channels; and he kept none in his own hands. He negotiated, indeed, by fits and ſtarts, by little tools, and indirect ways; and thus his activity became as hurtful as his indolence; of which I could produce ſome remarkable inſtances. No good effect could flow from ſuch a conduct. In a word, when this great affair was once engaged, the zeal of particular men in their ſeveral provinces drove it forward, though they were not backed by the concurrent force of the whole adminiſtration, nor had the common helps of advice till it was too late, till the very end of the negotiations; even in matters ſuch as that of commerce, which they could not be ſuppoſed to underſtand. That this is a true account of the means uſed to arrive at the peace, and a true character of that adminiſtration in general, I believe the whole cabinet-council of that time will bear me witneſs.

Sure

Sure I am, that moſt of them have joined with me in lamenting this ſtate of things whilſt it ſubſiſted, and all thoſe who were employed as miniſters in the ſeveral parts of the treaty, felt ſufficiently the difficulties which this ſtrange management often reduced them to. I am confident they have not forgot them.

If the means employed to bring the peace about were feeble, and in one reſpect contemptible, thoſe employed to break the negotiation were ſtrong and formidable. As ſoon as the firſt ſuſpicion of a treaty's being on foot crept abroad into the world, the whole alliance united with a powerful party in the nation to obſtruct it. From that hour to the moment the congreſs of Utrecht finiſhed, no one meaſure poſſible to be taken was omitted, to traverſe every advance that was made in this work, to intimidate, to allure, to embarraſs every perſon concerned in it. This was done without any regard either to decency or good policy; and from hence it ſoon followed, that paſſion and humour mingled themſelves on each ſide. A great part of what we did for the peace, and of what others did againſt it, can be accounted for on no other principle. The allies were broke among themſelves before they began to treat with the common enemy. The matter did not mend in the courſe of the treaty; and France and Spain, but eſpecially the former, profited of this diſunion.

Whoever makes the compariſon which I have touched upon, will ſee the true reaſons which rendered the peace leſs anſwerable to the ſucceſs of the war than it might, and than it ought to have been.

Judgement has been paſſed in this caſe, as the different paſſions or intereſts of men have inſpired them. But the real cauſe lay in the conſtitution of our miniſtry, and much more in the obſtinate oppoſition which we met with from the Whigs and from the allies. However, ſure it is, that the defects of the peace did not occaſion the deſertions from the Tory party which happened about this time, nor thoſe diſorders in the court which immediately followed.

Long before the purport of the treaties could be known, thoſe Whigs who had ſet out with us in 1710, began to relapſe back to their party. They had among us ſhared the harveſt of a new miniſtry, and like prudent perſons they took meaſures in time to have their ſhare in that of a new government.

The whimſical or the Hanover Tories continued zealous in appearance with us, till the peace was ſigned. I ſaw no people ſo eager for the concluſion of it. Some of them * were in ſuch haſte, that they thought any peace preferable to the leaſt delay, and omitted no inſtances to quicken their friends who were actors in it. As ſoon as the treaties were perfected, and laid before the parliament, the ſcheme of theſe gentlemen began to diſcloſe itſelf entirely. Their love of the peace, like ther paſſions, cooled by enjoyment. They grew nice about the conſtruction of the articles, could come up to no direct approbation, and, being let into the ſecret of what was to happen, would not preclude themſelves from the glorious advantage

* Hanmer's Letter.

of

of riſing on the ruins of their friends, and of their party.

The danger of the ſucceſſion, and the badneſs of the peace, were the two principles on which we were attacked. On the firſt, the whimſical Tories joined the Whigs, and declared directly againſt their party. Although nothing is more certain than this truth, that there was at that time no formed deſign in the party, whatever views ſome particular men might have againſt his majeſty's acceſſion to the throne. On the latter, and moſt other points, they affected a moſt glorious neutrality.

Inſtead of gathering ſtrength, either as a miniſtry or as a party, we grew weaker every day. The peace had been judged with reaſon to be the only ſolid foundation whereupon we could erect a Tory ſyſtem: and yet when it was made we found ourſelves at a full ſtand. Nay the very work, which ought to have been the baſis of our ſtrength, was in part demoliſhed before our eyes, and we were ſtoned with the ruins of it. Whilſt this was doing, Oxford looked on, as if he had not been a party to all which had paſſed; broke now and then a jeſt, which ſavoured of the inns of court, and the bad company in which he had been bred; and on thoſe occaſions, where his ſtation obliged him to ſpeak of buſineſs, was abſolutely unintelligible.

Whether this man ever had any determined view, beſides that of raiſing his family, is, I believe, a problematical queſtion in the world. My opinion is, that he never had any other. The conduct of a miniſter, who propoſes to himſelf a great and noble object, and who purſues it ſteddily, may ſeem for

for a while a riddle to the world; eſpecially in a government like ours, where numbers of men, different in their characters, and different in their intereſts, are at all times to be managed; where public affairs are expoſed to more accidents and greater hazards than in the other countries; and where, by conſequence, he who is at the head of buſineſs will find himſelf often diſtracted by meaſures which have no relation to his purpoſe, and obliged to bend himſelf to things which are in ſome degree contrary to his main deſign. The ocean which environs us is an emblem of our government: and the pilot and the miniſter are in ſimilar circumſtances. It ſeldom happens that either of them can ſteer a direct courſe, and they both arrive at their port by means which frequently ſeem to carry them from it. But as the work advances, the conduct of him who leads it on with real abilities clears up, the appearing inconſiſtencies are reconciled, and when it is once conſummated, the whole ſhews itſelf ſo uniform, ſo plain, and ſo natural, that every dabler in politics will be apt to think he could have done the ſame. But, on the other hand, a man who propoſes no ſuch object, who ſubſtitutes artifice in the place of ability, who, inſtead of leading parties, and governing accidents, is eternally agitated backwards and forwards by both, who begins every day ſomething new, and carries nothing on to perfection, may impoſe a while on the world: but a little ſooner, or a little later, the myſtery will be revealed, and nothing will be found to be couched under it but a thread of pitiful expedients, the ultimate end of which never extended farther than living

from

from day to day. Which of theſe pictures reſembles Oxford moſt, you will determine. I am ſorry to be obliged to name him ſo often; but how is it poſſible to do otherwiſe while I am ſpeaking of times wherein the whole turn of affairs depended on his motions and character?

I have heard, and I believe truly, that when he returned to Windſor, in the autumn of 1713, after the marriage of his ſon, he preſſed extremely to have him created Duke of Newcaſtle, or Earl of Clare; and the Queen preſuming to heſitate on ſo extraordinary a propoſal, he reſented this heſitation in a manner which little became a man who had been ſo lately raiſed by the profuſion of her favours upon him. Certain it is, that he began then to ſhew a ſtill greater remiſſneſs in all parts of his miniſtry, and to affect to ſay, that from ſuch a time, the very time I am ſpeaking of, he took no ſhare in the direction of affairs, or words to that effect.

He pretended to have diſcovered intrigues which were ſet on foot againſt him, and particularly he complained of the advantage which was taken of his abſence, during the journey he made at his ſon's marriage, to undermine him with the Queen. He is naturally inclined to believe the worſt; which I take to be a certain mark of a mean ſpirit and a wicked ſoul: at leaſt I am ſure that the contrary quality, when it is not due to weakneſs of underſtanding, is the fruit of a generous temper, and an honeſt heart. Prone to judge ill of all mankind, he will rarely be ſeduced by his credulity; but I never knew a man ſo capable of being the bubble of his diſtruſt and jealouſy. He was ſo in this caſe, although

although the Queen, who could not be ignorant of the truth, ſaid enough to undeceive him. But to be undeceived, and to own himſelf ſo, was not his play. He hoped by cunning to varniſh over his want of faith and of ability. He was deſirous to make the world impute the extraordinary part, or, to ſpeak more properly, the no part, which he acted with the ſtaff of treaſurer in his hand, to the Queen's withdrawing her favour from him, and to his friends abandoning him: pretences utterly groundleſs when he firſt made them, and which he brought to be real at laſt. Even the winter before the Queen's death, when his credit began to wain apace, he might have regained it; he might have reconciled himſelf perfectly with all his ancient friends, and have acquired the confidence of the whole party. I ſay, he might have done all this; becauſe I am perſuaded that none of thoſe I have named were ſo convinced of his perfidy, ſo jaded with his yoke, or ſo much piqued perſonally againſt him, as I was: and yet if he would have exerted himſelf in concert with us, to improve the few advantages which were left us, and to ward off the viſible danger which threatened our perſons and our party, I would have ſtifled my private animoſity, and would have acted under him with as much zeal as ever. But he was uncapable of taking ſuch a turn. The ſum of all his policy had been to amuſe the Whigs, the Tories, and the Jacobites, as long as he could, and to keep his power as long as he amuſed them. When it became impoſſible to amuſe mankind any longer, he appeared plainly at the end of his line.

By

By ſecret correſpondence with the late Earl of Halifax, and by the intrigues of his brother, and other fanatical relations, he had endeavoured to keep ſome hold on the Whigs.

The Tories were attached to him at firſt by the heat of a revolution in the miniſtry, by their hatred of the people who were diſcarded, and by the fond hopes which it is eaſy to give at the ſetting out of a new adminiſtration. Afterwards he held out the peace in proſpect to them, and to the Jacobites, ſeparately, as an event which muſt be brought about before he could effectually ſerve either. You cannot have forgot how things which we preſſed were put off, upon every occaſion, till the peace: the peace was to be the date of a new adminiſtration, and the period at which the millenary year of Toryiſm ſhould begin. Thus were the Tories at that time amuſed: and ſince my exile I have had the opportunity of knowing certainly and circumſtantially that the Jacobites were treated in the ſame manner, and that the pretender was made, through the French miniſter, to expect that meaſures ſhould be taken for his reſtoration, as ſoon as the peace had rendered them practicable. He was to attempt nothing, his partiſans were to lie ſtill, Oxford undertook for all.

After many delays, fatal to the general intereſt of Europe, this peace was ſigned: and the only conſiderable thing which he brought about afterwards was the marriage I have mentioned above; and by it an acceſſion of riches and honour to a family, whoſe eſtate was very mean, and whoſe illuſtration before this time I never met with any where, but

in

in the vain diſcourſes which he uſed to hold over claret. If he kept his word with any of the parties abovementioned, it muſt be ſuppoſed that he did ſo with the Whigs; for as to us, we ſaw nothing after the peace but increaſe of mortification and nearer approaches to ruin. Not a ſtep was made towards compleating the ſettlement of Europe, which the treaties of Utrecht and Radſtat left imperfect; towards fortifying and eſtabliſhing the Tory party; towards ſecuring thoſe, who had been the principal actors in this adminiſtration, againſt future events. We had proceeded in a confidence that theſe things ſhould immediately follow the concluſion of the peace: he had never, I dare ſwear, entertained a thought concerning them. As ſoon as the laſt hand was given to the fortune of his family, he abandoned his miſtreſs, his friends, and his party, who had bore him ſo many years on their ſhoulders: and I was preſent when this want of faith was reproached him in the plaineſt and ſtrongeſt terms by one of the honeſteſt * men in Britain, and before ſome of the moſt † conſiderable Tories. Even his impudence failed him on this occaſion: he did not ſo much as attempt an excuſe.

He could not keep his word which he had given the pretender and his adherents, becauſe he had formed no party to ſupport him in ſuch a deſign. He was ſure of having the Whigs againſt him if he made the attempt, and he was not ſure of having the Tories for him.

* Lord Trever.

† Duke of Ormond, Lord Angleſey, Lord Harcourt, and myſelf, in Oxford's lodgings in St. James's houſe.

In

In this ſtate of confuſion and diſtreſs, to which he had reduced himſelf and us, you remember the part he acted. He was the ſpy of the Whigs, and voted with us in the morning againſt thoſe very queſtions which he had penned the night before with Walpole, and others.—He kept his poſt on terms which no man but he would have held it on, neither ſubmitting to the queen, nor complying with his friends. He would not, or he could not act with us; and he reſolved that we ſhould not act without him, as long as he could hinder it. The queen's health was very precarious, and at her death he hoped by theſe means to deliver us up, bound as it were hand and foot, to our adverſaries. On the foundation of this merit he flattered himſelf that he had gained ſome of the Whigs, and ſoftened at leaſt the reſt of the party to him. By his ſecret negotiations at Hanover, he took it for granted, that he was not only reconciled to that court, but that he ſhould, under his preſent majeſty's reign, have as much credit as he had enjoyed under that of the queen. He was weak enough to boaſt of this, and to promiſe his good offices voluntarily to ſeveral: for no man was weak enough to think them worth being ſolicited. In a word, you muſt have heard that he anſwered to Lord Dartmouth and to Mr. Bromley, that one ſhould keep the privy-ſeal, and the other the ſeals of ſecretary; and that Lord Couper makes no ſcrouple of telling how he came to offer him the ſeals of chancellor. When the king arrived, he went to Greenwich with an affectation of pomp and of favour. Againſt his ſuſpicious character, he was once in his life the bubble of his

credulity: and this deluſion betrayed him into a puniſhment, more ſevere in my ſenſe than all which has happened to him ſince, or than perpetual exile; he was affronted in the manner in which he was preſented to the king. The meaneſt ſubject would have been received with goodneſs, the moſt obnoxious with an air of indifference; but he was received with the moſt diſtinguiſhing contempt. This treatment he had in the face of the nation. The king began his reign, in this inſtance, with puniſhing the ingratitude, the perfidy, the inſolence, which had been ſhewn to his predeceſſor. Oxford fled from court covered with ſhame, the object of the deriſion of the Whigs, and of the indignation of the Tories.

The queen might, if ſhe had pleaſed, have ſaved herſelf from all thoſe mortifications ſhe met with during the laſt months of her reign, and her ſervants and the Tory party from thoſe misfortunes which they endured during the ſame time; perhaps from thoſe which they have fallen into ſince her death. When ſhe found that the peace, from the concluſion of which ſhe expected eaſe and quiet, brought ſtill greater trouble upon her; when ſhe ſaw the weakneſs of her government, and the confuſion of her affairs increaſe every day; when ſhe ſaw her firſt miniſter bewildered and unable to extricate himſelf or her; in fine, when the negligence of his public conduct, and the ſaucineſs of his private behaviour had rendered him inſupportable to her, and ſhe took the reſolution of laying him aſide, there was a ſtrength ſtill remaining ſufficient to have ſupported her government, to have fulfilled in great part

part the expectations of the Tories, and to have conſtituted both them and the miniſters in ſuch a ſituation as would have left them little to apprehend. Some deſigns were indeed on foot which might have produced very great diſorders: Oxford's conduct had given much occaſion to them, and with the terror of them he endeavoured to intimidate the queen. But expedients were not hard to be found, by which thoſe deſigns might have been nipped in the bud, or elſe by which the perſons who promoted them might have been induced to lay them aſide. But that fatal irreſolution inherent to the Stuart race hung upon her. She felt too much inward reſentment to be able to conceal his diſgrace from him; yet after he had made this diſcovery, ſhe continued to truſt all her power in his hands.

No people ever were in ſuch a condition as ours continued to be from the autumn of 1713, to the ſummer following. The queen's health ſunk every day. The attack which ſhe had in the winter at Windſor ſerved as a warning both to thoſe who wiſhed, and to thoſe who feared her death, to expect it. The party which oppoſed the court had been continually gaining ſtrength by the weakneſs of our adminiſtration: and at this time their numbers were vaſtly encreaſed, and their ſpirit was raiſed by the near proſpect of the ſucceſſion taking place. We were not at liberty to exert the ſtrength we had. We ſaw our danger, and many of us ſaw the true means of avoiding it: but whilſt the magic wand was in the ſame hands, this knowledge ſerved only to increaſe our uneaſineſs; and, whether we would or no, we were forced with our eyes open to walk

on towards the precipice. Every moment we became leſs able, if the queen lived, to ſupport her government; if ſhe died, to ſecure ourſelves. One ſide was united in a common view, and acted upon an uniform plan: the other had really none at all. We knew that we were out of favour at the court of Hanover, that we were repreſented there as Jacobites, and that the Elector, his preſent Majeſty, had been rendered publicly a party to that oppoſition, in ſpite of which we made the peace: and yet we neither had taken, nor could take in our preſent circumſtances, any meaſures to be better or worſe there. Thus we languiſhed till the twenty-ſeventh of July 1714, when the queen diſmiſſed the treaſurer. On the Friday following, ſhe fell into an apoplexy, and died on Sunday the firſt of Auguſt.

You do me, I dare ſay, the juſtice to believe, that whilſt this ſtate of things laſted I ſaw very well, how little mention ſoever I might make of it at the time, that no man in the miniſtry, or in the party, was ſo much expoſed as myſelf. I could expect no quarter from the Whigs, for I had deſerved none. There were perſons amongſt them for whom I had great eſteem and friendſhip; yet neither with theſe, nor with any others, had I preſerved a ſecret correſpondence, which might be of uſe to me in the day of diſtreſs: and beſides the general character of my party, I knew that particular prejudices were entertained againſt me at Hanover. The Whigs wanted nothing but an opportunity of attacking the peace, and it could hardly be imagined that they would ſtop there. In which caſe, I knew that they could have hold on no man ſo much as myſelf: the inſtructions

ſtructions, the orders, the memorials had been drawn by me, the correſpondence relating to it in France, and every where elſe, had been carried on by me; in a word, my hand appeared to almoſt every paper which had been writ in the whole courſe of the negotiation. To all theſe conſiderations I added that of the weight of perſonal reſentment, which I had created againſt myſelf at home and abroad: in part unavoidably by the ſhare I was obliged to take in theſe affairs; and in part, if you will, unneceſſarily by the warmth of my temper, and by ſome unguarded expreſſions, for which I have no excuſe to make, but that which Tacitus makes for his father-in-law, Julius Agricola: *honeſtius putabam offendere, quam odiſſe.*

Having this proſpect of being diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of my party, in the common calamity by ſeverer treatment, I might have juſtified myſelf by reaſon and by great authorities too, if I had made early proviſion, at leaſt to be ſafe, when I ſhould be no longer uſeful. How I could have ſecured this point I do not think fit to explain: but certain it is, that I made no one ſtep towards it. I reſolved not to abandon my party by turning Whig, or, which is worſe a great deal, whimſical; nor to treat ſeparately from it. I reſolved to keep myſelf at liberty to act on a Tory bottom. If the queen diſgraced Oxford and continued to live afterwards, I knew we ſhould have time and means to provide for our future ſafety: if the queen died and left us in the ſame unfortunate circumſtances, I expected to ſuffer for and with the Tories; and I was prepared for it.

The thunder had long grumbled in the air; and yet when the bolt fell, moſt of our party appeared as much ſurpriſed as if they had had no reaſon to expect it. There was a perfect calm and univerſal ſubmiſſion through the whole kingdom. The chevalier indeed ſet out as if his deſign had been to gain the coaſt and to embark for Great Britain; and the court of France made a merit to themſelves of ſtopping him and obliging him to return. But this, to my certain knowledge, was a farce acted by concert, to keep up an opinion of his character, when all opinion of his cauſe ſeemed to be at an end. He owned this concert to me at Bar, on the occaſion of my telling him that he would have found no party ready to receive him, and that the enterpriſe would have been to the laſt degree extravagant. He was at this time far from having any encouragement: no party, numerous enough to make the leaſt diſturbance, was formed in his favour. On the king's arrival the ſtorm aroſe. The menaces of the Whigs, backed by ſome very raſh declarations, by little circumſtances of humour which frequently offend more than real injuries, and by the entire change of all the perſons in employment, blew up the coals.

At firſt many of the Tories had been made to entertain ſome faint hopes that they would be permitted to live in quiet. I have been aſſured that the king left Hanover in that reſolution. Happy had it been for him and for us if he had continued in it; if the moderation of his temper had not been overborne by the violence of party, and his and the national intereſt ſacrificed to the paſſions of a few. Others there were among the Tories who had flattered

tered themſelves with much greater expectations than theſe, and who had depended, not on ſuch imaginary favour and dangerous advancement as was offered them afterwards, but on real credit and ſubſtantial power under the new government. Such impreſſions on the minds of men had rendered the two houſes of parliament, which were then ſitting, as good courtiers to King George, as ever they had been to Queen Anne. But all theſe hopes being at once and with violence extinguiſhed, deſpair ſucceeded in their room.

Our party began ſoon to act like men delivered over to their paſſions, and unguided by any other principle; not like men fired by a juſt reſentment and a reaſonable ambition to a bold undertaking. They treated the government like men who were reſolved not to live under it: and yet they took no one meaſure to ſupport themſelves againſt it. They expreſſed, without reſerve or circumſpection, an eagerneſs to join in any attempt againſt the eſtabliſhment which they had received and confirmed, and which many of them had courted but a few weeks before: and yet in the midſt of all this bravery, when the election of the new parliament came on, ſome of theſe very men acted with the coolneſs of thoſe who are much better diſpoſed to compound than to take arms.

The body of the Tories being in this temper, it is not to be wondered at, if they heated one another, and began apace to turn their eyes towards the pretender; and if thoſe few, who had already engaged with him, applied themſelves to improve the

the conjuncture, and endeavoured to liſt a party for him.

I went, about a month after the queen's death, as ſoon as the ſeals were taken from me, into the country; and whilſt I continued there, I felt the general diſpoſition to Jacobitiſm increaſe daily among people of all ranks; among ſeveral who had been conſtantly diſtinguiſhed by their averſion to that cauſe. But at my return to London in the month of February or March 1715, a few weeks before I left England, I began for the firſt time in my whole life to perceive theſe general diſpoſitions ripen into reſolutions, and to obſerve ſome regular workings among many of our principal friends, which denoted a ſcheme of this kind. Theſe workings, indeed, were very faint; for the perſons concerned in carrying them on did not think it ſafe to ſpeak too plainly to men, who were, in truth, ill diſpoſed to the government, becauſe they neither found their account at preſent under it, nor had been managed with art enough to leave them hopes of finding it hereafter; but who at the ſame time had not the leaſt affection for the pretender's perſon, nor any principle favourable to his intereſt.

This was the ſtate of things when the new parliament, which his majeſty had called, aſſembled. A great majority of the elections had gone in favour of the Whigs; to which the want of concert among the Tories had contributed as much, as the vigour of that party, and the influence of the new government. The Whigs came to the opening of this parliament full of as much violence as could poſſeſs men who expected to make their court, to con-

firm

firm themſelves in power, and to gratify their reſentments by the ſame meaſures. I have heard that it was a diſpute among the miniſters, how far this ſpirit ſhould be indulged; and that the king was determined, or confirmed in a determination, to conſent to the proſecutions, and to give the reins to the party, by the repreſentations that were made to him, that great difficulties would ariſe in the conduct of the ſeſſion if the court ſhould appear inclined to check this ſpirit, and by Mr. W—'s undertaking to carry all the buſineſs ſucceſsfully through the houſe of commons if they were at liberty. Such has often been the unhappy fate of our princes: a real neceſſity ſometimes, and ſometimes a ſeeming one, has forced them to compound with a part of the nation at the expence of the whole; and the ſucceſs of their buſineſs for one year has been purchaſed at the price of public diſorder for many.

The conjuncture I am ſpeaking of affords a memorable inſtance of this truth. If milder meaſures had been purſued, certain it is, that the Tories had never univerſally embraced Jacobitiſm. The violence of the Whigs forced them into the arms of the pretender. The court and the party ſeemed to vie with one another which ſhould go the greateſt lengths in ſeverity: and the miniſters, whoſe true intereſt it muſt at all times be to calm the minds of men, and who ought never to ſet the examples of extraordinary inquiries or extraordinary accuſations, were upon this occaſion the tribunes of the people.

The council of regency, which began to ſit as ſoon as the queen died, acted like a council of the holy office. Whoever looked on the face of the nation

nation ſaw every thing quiet; not one of theſe ſymptoms appearing which muſt have ſhewn themſelves more or leſs at that moment, if, in reality, there had been any meaſures taken during the former reign to defeat the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. His majeſty aſcended the throne with as little contradiction and as little trouble, as ever a ſon ſucceeded a father in the poſſeſſion of a private patrimony. But he, who had the opportunity, which I had till my diſmiſſion, of ſeeing a great part of what paſſed in that council, would have thought that there had been an oppoſition actually formed, that the new eſtabliſhment was attacked openly from without, and betrayed from within.

The ſame diſpoſition continued after the king's arrival. This political inquiſition went on with all the eagerneſs imaginable in ſeiſing of papers, in ranſacking the queen's cloſet, and examining even her private letters. The Whigs had clamoured loudly, and affirmed in the face of the world, that the nation had been ſold to France, to Spain, to the pretender; and whilſt they endeavoured in vain, by very ſingular methods, to find ſome colour to juſtify what they had advanced without proof, they put themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of grounding the moſt ſolemn proſecution on things, whereof they might indeed have proof, but which would never paſs for crimes before any judges, but ſuch as were parties at the ſame time.

In the king's firſt ſpeech from the throne, all the inflaming hints were given, and all the methods of violence were chalked out to the two houſes. The firſt ſteps in both were perfectly anſwerable: and,

to

to the ſhame of the peerage be it ſpoken, I ſaw at that time ſeveral lords concur to condemn, in one general vote, all that they had approved of in a former parliament, by many particular reſolutions. Among ſeveral bloody reſolutions, propoſed and agitated at this time, the reſolution of impeaching me of high treaſon was taken: and I took that of leaving England, not in a panic terror, improved by the artifices of the Duke of Marlborough, whom I knew, even at that time, too well to act by his advice or information in any caſe, but on ſuch grounds as the proceedings which ſoon followed ſufficiently juſtified, and as I have never repented building upon. Thoſe who blamed it in the firſt heat, were ſoon after obliged to change their language: for what other reſolution could I take? The method of proſecution deſigned againſt me would have put me immediately out of condition to act for myſelf, or to ſerve thoſe who were leſs expoſed than me, but who were, however, in danger. On the other hand, how few were there on whoſe aſſiſtance I could depend, or to whom I would, even in thoſe circumſtances, be obliged? The ferment in the nation was wrought up to a conſiderable height; but there was, at that time, no reaſon to expect that it could influence the proceedings in parliament in favour of thoſe who ſhould be accuſed. Left to its own movement, it was much more proper to quicken than ſlacken the proſecutions: and who was there to guide its motions? The Tories, who had been true to one another to the laſt, were an handful, and no great vigour could be expected from them. The whimſicals, diſappointed

pointed of the figure which they hoped to make, began indeed to join their old friends. One * of the principal amongſt them, was ſo very good as to confeſs to me, that if the court had called the ſervants of the late Queen to account, and had ſtopped there, he muſt have conſidered himſelf as a judge, and have acted according to his conſcience, on what ſhould have appeared to him: but that war had been declared to the whole Tory party, and that now the ſtate of things was altered. This diſcourſe needed no commentary, and proved to me, that I had never erred in the judgement I made of this ſet of men. Could I then reſolve to be obliged to them, or to ſuffer with Oxford? As much as I ſtill was heated by the diſputes, in which I had been all my life engaged againſt the Whigs, I would ſooner have choſe to owe my ſecurity to their indulgence, than to the aſſiſtance of the whimſicals: but I thought baniſhment, with all her train of evils, preferable to either. I abhorred Oxford to that degree, that I could not bear to be joined with him in any caſe. Nothing perhaps contributed ſo much to determine me as this ſentiment. A ſenſe of honour would not have permitted me to diſtinguiſh between his caſe and mine own: and it was worſe than death to lie under the neceſſity of making them the ſame, and of taking meaſures in concert with him.

I am now come to the time at which I left England, and have finiſhed the firſt part of that de-

* Earl of Angleſey. I told the fact to the biſhop of Rocheſter, that night or the next day.

duction

duction of facts which I propoſed to lay before you. I am hopeful that you will not think it altogether tedious, or unneceſſary: for although very little of what I have ſaid can be new to you, yet this ſummary account will enable you with greater eaſe to recal to your memory the paſſages of thoſe four years wherewith all that I am going to relate to you has an immediate and neceſſary connection.

In what has been ſaid I am far from making my own panegyric. I had not in thoſe days ſo much merit as was aſcribed to me: nor, ſince that time have I had ſo little as the ſame perſons allowed me. I committed without diſpute many faults; and a greater man than I can pretend to be, conſtituted in the ſame circumſtances, would not have kept clear of all: but, with reſpect to the Tories, I committed none. I carried the point of party-honour to the height, and ſacrificed every thing to my attachment to them during this period of time. Let us now examine whether I have done ſo during the reſt.

When I arrived in France, about the end of March 1715, the affairs of England were repreſented to me in another light than I had ſeen them in, when I looked upon them with my own eyes very few weeks before. I found the perſons who were detached to ſpeak with me, prepared to think that I came over to negotiate for the Pretender: and when they perceived that I was more ignorant than they imagined, I was aſſured by them, that there would be ſuddenly an univerſal riſing in England and Scotland.... The leaders were named to me, their engagements ſpecified, and many gentlemen,

yourſelf among others, were reckoned upon for particular ſervices, though I was certain you had never been treated with. From whence I concluded, and the event has juſtified my opinion, that theſe aſſurances had been given on the general characters of men, by ſuch of our friends as had embarked ſooner, and gone farther than the reſt.

This management ſurpriſed me extremely. In the anſwers I made, I endeavoured to ſet the miſtake right; to ſhew that things were far from the point of maturity imagined; that the Chevalier had yet no party for him, and that nothing could form one but the extreme violence which the Whigs threatened to exerciſe. Great endeavours were uſed to engage me in this affair, and to prevail on me to anſwer the letter of invitation ſent me from Bar. I alledged, as it was true, that I had no commiſſion from any perſon in England, and that the friends I left behind me were the only perſons who could determine me, if any could, to take ſuch a ſtep. As to the laſt propoſition, I abſolutely refuſed it.

In the uncertainty of what would happen, whether the proſecutions would be puſhed, which was moſt probable, in the manner intended againſt me, and againſt others, for all of whom, except the Earl of Oxford, I had as much concern as for myſelf; or whether the Whigs would relent, drop ſome, and ſoften the fate of others; I reſolved to conduct myſelf ſo, as to create no appearance which might be ſtrained into a pretence for hard uſage, and which might be retorted on my friends when they debated for me, or when they defended themſelves. I ſaw the Earl of Stair, I promiſed him that I would

enter

enter into no Jacobite engagements, and I kept my word with him. I writ a letter to Mr. Secretary Stanhope, which might take off any imputation of neglect of the government; and I retired into Dauphiné, to remove the objection of reſidence near the court of France.

This retreat from Paris was cenſured in England, and ſtiled a deſertion of my friends, and of their cauſe; with what foundation let any reaſonable man determine. Had I engaged with the Pretender before the party acted for him, or required of me that I ſhould do ſo, I had taken the air of being his man; whereas I looked on myſelf as theirs: I had gone about to bring them into his meaſures; whereas I never intended, even ſince that time, to do any thing more than to make him, as far as poſſible, act conformably to their views.

During the ſhort time I continued on the banks of the Rhone, the proſecutions were carried on at Weſtminſter with the utmoſt violence, and the ferment among the people was riſen to ſuch a degree, that it could end in nothing better, it might have ended in ſomething worſe, than it did. The meaſures which I obſerved at Paris had turned to no account; on the contrary, the letter which I writ to Mr. Secretary Stanhope, was quoted as a baſe and fawning ſubmiſſion: and what I intended as a mark of reſpect to the government, and a ſervice to my friends, was perverted to ruin me in the opinion of the latter. The act of attainder, in conſequence of my impeachment, had paſſed againſt me, for crimes of the blackeſt dye: and, among other inducements to paſs it, my having been en-

gaged in the Pretender's intereſt was one. How well founded this article was, has already appeared: I was juſt as guilty of the reſt. The correſpondence with me was, you know, neither frequent nor ſafe. I heard ſeldom and darkly from you; and though I ſaw well enough which way the current ran, yet I was entirely ignorant of the meaſures you took, and of the uſe you intended to make of me. I contented myſelf, therefore, with letting you all know, that you had but to command me, and that I was ready to venture in your ſervice the little which remained, as frankly as I had expoſed all which was gone. At laſt your commands came, and I ſhall ſhew you in what manner I executed them.

The perſon who was ſent to me arrived in the beginning of July 1715, at the place where I was. He ſpoke in the name of all the friends whoſe authority could influence me, and he brought me word, that Scotland was not only ready to take arms, but under ſome ſort of diſſatisfaction to be withheld from beginning; that in England the people were exaſperated againſt the government to ſuch a degree, that, far from wanting to be encouraged, they could not be reſtrained from inſulting it on every occaſion; that the whole Tory party was become avowedly Jacobite; that many officers of the army, and the majority of the ſoldiers were very well affected to the cauſe; that the city of London was ready to riſe, and that the enterpriſes for ſeizing of ſeveral places were ripe for execution: in a word, that moſt of the principal Tories were in a concert with the Duke of Ormond, for I had preſſed

ed particularly to be informed, whether his Grace acted alone, or, if not, who were his council; and that the others were ſo diſpoſed, that there remained no doubt of their joining, as ſoon as the firſt blow ſhould be ſtruck. He added, that my friends were a little ſurpriſed to obſerve, that I lay neuter in ſuch a conjuncture. He repreſented to me the danger I ran of being prevented by people of all ſides, from having the merit of engaging early in this enterpriſe; and how unaccountable it would be for a man impeached and attainted under the preſent government, to take no ſhare in bringing about a revolution ſo near at hand, and ſo certain. He entreated that I would defer no longer to join the Chevalier; to adviſe and aſſiſt in carrying on his affairs, and to ſolicit and negotiate at the court of France, where my friends imagined that I ſhould not fail to meet with a favourable reception, and from whence they made no doubt of receiving aſſiſtance in a ſituation of affairs ſo critical, ſo unexpected, and ſo promiſing. He concluded by giving me a letter from the Pretender, whom he had ſeen in his way to me, in which I was preſſed to repair, without loſs of time, to Commercy: and this inſtance was grounded on the meſſage which the bearer of the letter had brought me from my friends in England. Since he was ſent to me, it had been more proper to have come directly where I was: but he was in haſte to make his own court, and to deliver the aſſurances which were entruſted to him. Perhaps too he imagained that he ſhould tie the knot faſter on me, by acquainting me, that my friends had actually engaged for themſelves and me, than

by barely telling me that they desired I would engage for myself and them.

In the progress of the conversation he related a multitude of facts, which satisfied me as to the general disposition of the people; but he gave me little satisfaction as to the measures taken for improving this disposition, for driving the business on with vigour, if it tended to a revolution, or for supporting it with advantage, if it spun into a war. When I questioned him concerning several persons, whose disinclination to the government admitted of no doubt, and whose names, quality, and experience, were very essential to the success of the undertaking, he owned to me, that they kept a great reserve, and did at most but encourage others to act, by general and dark expressions.

I received this account, and this summons, ill in my bed: yet, important as the matter was, a few minutes served to determine me. The circumstances wanting to form a reasonable inducement to engage, did not escape me. But the smart of a bill of attainder tingled in every vein: and I looked on my party to be under oppression, and to call for my assistance. Besides which, I considered first, that I should certainly be informed, when I conferred with the Chevalier, of many particulars unknown to this gentleman: for I did not imagine that you could be so near to take arms as he represented you to be, on no other foundation than that which he exposed: and, secondly, that I was obliged in honour to declare, without waiting for a more particular information of what might be expected from England; since my friends had taken their resolution

tion to declare, without any previous aſſurance of what might be expected from France. This ſecond motive weighed extremely with me at that time: there is however more ſound than ſenſe in it, and it contains the original error to which all your ſubſequent errors, and the thread of misfortunes which followed, are to be aſcribed.

My reſolution thus taken, I loſt no time in repairing to Commercy. The very firſt converſations with the Chevalier, anſwered in no degree my expectations: and I aſſure you, with great truth, that I began even then, if not to repent of my own raſhneſs, yet to be fully convinced both of yours and mine.

He talked to me like a man who expected every moment to ſet out for England or Scotland, but who did not very well know for which: and when he entered into the particulars of his affairs, I found that, concerning the former, he had nothing more circumſtantial nor poſitive to go upon, than what I had already heard. The advices which were ſent from thence, contained ſuch aſſurances of ſucceſs, as it was hard to think that men, who did not go upon the ſureſt grounds, would preſume to give. But then theſe aſſurances were general, and the authority ſeldom ſatisfactory. Thoſe which came from the beſt hands were verbal, and often conveyed by very doubtful meſſengers; others came from men whoſe fortunes were as deſperate as their counſels; and others came from perſons whoſe ſituation in the world gave little reaſon to attend to their judgement in matters of this kind.

The

The Duke of Ormond had been for ſome time, I cannot ſay how long, engaged with the Chevalier. He had taken the direction of this whole affair, as far as it related to England, upon himſelf, and had received a commiſſion for this purpoſe, which contained the moſt ample powers that could be given. After this, one would be apt to imagine, that the principles on which the Pretender ſhould proceed, and the Tories engage in this ſervice, had been laid down; that a regular and certain method of correſpondence had been eſtabliſhed; that the neceſſary aſſiſtances had been ſpecified, and that poſitive aſſurances had been given of them. Nothing leſs. In a matter as ſerious as this, all was looſe and abandoned to the diſpoſition of fortune. The firſt point had never been touched upon: by what I have ſaid above, you ſee how little care was taken of the ſecond: and, as to the third, the Duke had aſked a ſmall body of regular forces, a ſum of money, and a quantity of arms and ammunition. He had been told in anſwer, by the court of France, that he muſt abſolutely deſpair of any number of troops whatever; but he had been made in general to hope for ſome money, ſome arms, and ſome ammunition: a little ſum had, I think, been advanced to him. In a caſe ſo plain as this, it is hard to conceive how any man could err. The aſſiſtances demanded from France at this time, and even greater than theſe, will appear in the ſequel of this relation, by the ſenſe of the whole party, to have been deemed eſſentially neceſſary to ſucceſs. In ſuch an uncertainty, therefore, whether even theſe could be obtained, or rather with ſo much reaſon to apprehend

hend that they could not, it was evident that the Tories ought to have lain ſtill. They might have helped the ferment againſt the government, but ſhould have avoided with the utmoſt care the giving any alarm, or even ſuſpicion of their true deſign, and have reſumed, or not reſumed it, as the Chevalier was able, or not able, to provide the troops, the arms, the money, &c. Inſtead of which, thoſe who were at the head of the undertaking, and therefore anſwerable for the meaſures which were purſued, ſuffered the buſineſs to jog merrily on. They knew in general how little dependance was to be placed on foreign ſuccour, but acted as if they had been ſure of it: while the party were rendered ſanguine by their paſſions, and made no doubt of ſubverting a government they were angry with; both one and the other made as much buſtle, and gave as great alarm, as would have been imprudent even at the eve of a general inſurrection. This appeared to me to be the ſtate of things with reſpect to England, when I arrived at Commercy.

The Scots had long preſſed the Chevalier to come amongſt them, and had of late ſent frequent meſſages to quicken his departure, ſome of which were delivered in terms much more zealous than reſpectful. The truth is, they ſeemed in as much haſte to begin, as if they had thought themſelves able to do the work alone; as if they had been apprehenſive of no danger but that of ſeeing it taken out of their hands, and of having the honour of it ſhared by others. However, that which was wanting on the part of England, was not wanting in Scotland: the Scots talked aloud, but they were

in

in a condition to riſe. They took little care to keep their intentions ſecret, but they were diſpoſed to put thoſe intentions into immediate execution, and thereby to render the ſecret no longer neceſſary. They knew upon whom to depend for every part of the work, and they had concerted with the Chevalier, even to the place of his landing.

There was need of no great ſagacity to perceive how unequal ſuch foundations were, to the weight of the building deſigned to be raiſed on them. The Scots, with all their zeal and all their valour, could bring no revolution about, unleſs in concurrence with the Engliſh: and, among the latter, nothing was ripe for ſuch an undertaking but the temper of the people, if that was ſo. I thought, therefore, that the Pretender's friends in the North ſhould be kept from riſing, till thoſe in the South had put themſelves in a condition to act; and that in the mean while the utmoſt endeavours ought to be uſed with the King of France to eſpouſe the cauſe; and that a plan of the deſign, with a more particular ſpecification of the ſuccours deſired, as well as of the time when, and the place to which they ſhould be conveyed, ought to be writ for: all which, I was told by the marſhal of Berwick, who had the principal direction, at that time, of theſe affairs in France, and, I dare ſay very truly, had been often aſked but never ſent. I looked on this enterpriſe to be of the nature of thoſe, which can hardly be undertaken more than once; and I judged that the ſucceſs of it would depend on timing, as near as poſſible, together the inſurrection in both parts of the iſland, and the ſuccours from hence. The Pretender

tender approved this opinion of mine. He inſtructed me accordingly: and I left Lorain, after having accepted the ſeals much againſt my inclination. I made one condition with him. It was this: that I ſhould be at liberty to quit a ſtation which my humour, and many other conſiderations, made me think myſelf very unfit for, whenever the occaſion upon which I engaged was over, one way or other: and I deſire you to remember that I did ſo.

I arrived at Paris towards the end of July 1715. You will obſerve, that all I was charged with, and all by conſequence that I am anſwerable for, was to ſolicit this court, and to diſpoſe them to grant us the ſuccours neceſſary to make the attempt, as ſoon as we ſhould know certainly from England in what it was deſired that theſe ſuccours ſhould conſiſt, and whether they ſhould be ſent. Here I found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what ſeemed good in his own eyes: no ſubordination, no order, no concert. Perſons concerned in the management of theſe affairs, upon former occaſions, have aſſured me, this is always the caſe. It might be ſo to ſome degree; but, I believe, never ſo much as now. The Jacobites had wrought one another up, to look on the ſucceſs of the preſent deſigns as infallible. Every meeting-houſe which the populace demoliſhed, every little drunken riot which happened, ſerved to confirm them in theſe ſanguine expectations: and there was hardly one amongſt them who would loſe the air of contributing by his intrigues to the reſtoration, which, he took for granted, would be brought about, without him, in a very few weeks.

Care

Care and hope ſat on every buſy Iriſh face. Thoſe who could write and read had letters to ſhew, and thoſe who had not arrived to this pitch of erudition, had their ſecrets to whiſper. No ſex was excluded from this miniſtry. Fanny Oglethorpe, whom you muſt have ſeen in England, kept her corner in it, and Olive Trant was the great wheel of our machine.

I imagine that this picture, the lines of which are not in the leaſt too ſtrong, would ſerve to repreſent what paſſed on your ſide of the water at the ſame time. The letters which came from thence ſeemed to me to contain rather ſuch things as the writers wiſhed might be true, than ſuch as they knew to be ſo: and the accounts which were ſent from hence were of the ſame kind. The vanity of ſome, and the credulity of others, ſupported this ridiculous correſpondence; and I queſtion not but very many perſons, ſome ſuch I have known, did the ſame thing, from a principle which they took to be a very wiſe one: they imagined that they helped by theſe means to maintain, and to increaſe the ſpirit of party in England and France. They acted like Thoas, that turbulent Ætolian, who brought Antiochus into Greece: *Quibus mendaciis de rege, multiplicando verbis copias ejus, erexerat multorum in Græcia animos; iiſdem et regis ſpem inflabat, omnium votis eum arceſſi.* Thus were numbers of people employed under a notion of advancing the buſineſs, or from an affectation of importance, in amuſing and flattering one another, and in ſounding the alarm in the ears of an enemy, whom it was their intereſt to ſurpriſe. The government of England was

was put on its guard; and the neceſſity of acting, or of laying aſide, with ſome diſadvantage, all thoughts of acting for the preſent, was precipitated before any meaſures neceſſary to enable you to act had been prepared, or almoſt thought of.

If his majeſty did not, till ſome ſhort time after this, declare the intended invaſion to parliament, it was not for want of information. Before I came to Paris, what was doing had been diſcovered. The little armament made at the Havre, which furniſhed the only means the Chevalier then had for this tranſportation into Britain, which had exhauſted the treaſury of St. Germains, and which contained all the arms and amunition that could be depended upon for the whole undertaking, though they were hardly ſufficient to begin the work even in Scotland, was talked of publicly. A miniſter leſs alert, and leſs capable than the Earl of Stair, would eaſily have been at the bottom of the ſecret, for ſo it was called, when the particulars of meſſages received and ſent, the names of the perſons from whom they came, and by whom they were carried, were whiſpered about at tea-tables and in coffee-houſes.

In ſhort, what by the indiſcretion of people here, what by the rebound which came often back from London, what by the private intereſts and ambitious views of perſons in the French court, and what by other cauſes, unneceſſary to be examined now, the moſt private tranſactions came to light; and they, who imagined that they truſted their heads to the keeping of one or two friends, were in reality at the mercy of numbers. Into ſuch company was I fallen, for my ſins; and it is upon the credit of

ſuch a mob miniſtry, that the Tories have judged me capable of betraying a truſt, or incapable of diſcharging it.

I had made very little progreſs in the buſineſs which brought me to Paris, when the paper ſo long expected was ſent, in purſuance of former inſtances, from England. The unanimous ſenſe of the principal perſons engaged was contained in it. The whole had been dictated, word for word, to the gentleman who brought it over, by the Earl of Mar, and it had been delivered to him by the Duke of Ormond. I was driving in the wide ocean without a compaſs, when this dropped unexpectedly into my hands. I received it joyfully, and I ſteered my courſe exactly by it. Whether the perſons from whom it came purſued the principles, and obſerved the rules which they laid down, as the meaſures of their own conduct and of ours, will appear by the ſequel of this relation.

This memorial aſſerted, that there were no hopes of ſucceeding in a preſent undertaking, for many reaſons deduced in it, without an immediate and univerſal riſing of the people in all parts of England upon the Chevalier's arrival; and that this inſurrection was in no degree probable, unleſs he brought a body of regular troops along with him: that, if this attempt miſcarried, his cauſe and his friends, the Engliſh liberty and government, would be utterly ruined; but if, by coming without troops, he reſolved to riſque theſe and every thing elſe, he muſt ſet out ſo as not to arrive before the end of September O S. to juſtify which opinion many arguments were urged. In this caſe twenty thouſand

arms,

arms, a train of artillery, five hundred officers with their ſervants, and a conſiderable ſum of money were demanded: and as ſoon as they ſhould be informed, that the Chevalier was in condition to make this proviſion, it was ſaid that notice ſhould be given him of the places to which he might ſend, and of the perſons who were to be truſted. I do not mention ſome inconveniencies which they touched upon, ariſing from a delay; becauſe their opinion was clearly for this delay, and becauſe that they could not ſuppoſe that the Chevalier would act, or that thoſe about him would adviſe him to act, contrary to the ſenſe of all his friends in England. No time was loſt in making the proper uſe of this paper. As much of it as was fit to be ſhewn to this court was tranſlated into French, and laid before the King of France. I was now able to ſpeak with greater aſſurance, and in ſome ſort to undertake conditionally for the event of things.

The propoſal of violating treaties, ſo lately and ſo ſolemnly concluded, was a very bold one to be made to people, whatever their inclinations might be, whom the war had reduced to the loweſt ebb of riches and power. They would not hear of a direct and open engagement, ſuch as the ſending a body of troops would have been; neither would they grant the whole of what was aſked in the ſecond plan. But it was impoſſible for them, or any one elſe, to foreſee how far thoſe ſteps which they were willing to take, well improved, might have encouraged or forced them to go. They granted us ſome ſuccours, and the very ſhip in which the Pretender was to tranſport himſelf, was fitted out by

Depine d'Anicant, at the King of France's expence. They would have concealed theſe appearances as much as they could; but the heat of the Whigs, and the reſentment of the court of England might have drawn them in. We ſhould have been glad indirectly to concur in fixing theſe things upon them: and, in a word, if the late king had lived ſix months longer, I verily believe there had been war again between England and France. This was the only point of time when theſe affairs had, to my apprehenſion, the leaſt reaſonable appearance even of poſſibility: all that preceded was wild and uncertain: all that followed was mad and deſperate. But this favourable aſpect had an extreme ſhort duration. Two events ſoon happened, one of which caſt a damp on all we were doing, and the other rendered vain and fruitleſs all we had done. The firſt was the arrival of the Duke of Ormond in France, the other was the death of the king.

We had founded the Duke's name high. His reputation and the opinion of his power were great. The French began to believe that he was able to form and to head a party; that the troops would join him; that the nation would follow the ſignal whenever he drew his ſword: and the voice of the people, the echo of which was continually in their ears, confirmed them in this belief. But when, in the midſt of all theſe bright ideas, they ſaw him arrive, almoſt literally alone, when, to excuſe his coming, I was obliged to tell them, that he could not ſtay; they ſunk at once from their hopes: and that which generally happens happened in this caſe; becauſe they had had too good an opinion of the cauſe, they

began

began to form too bad an one. Before this time, if they had no friendſhip for the Tories, they had at leaſt ſome conſideration and eſteem. After this, I ſaw nothing but compaſſion in the beſt of them, and contempt in the others.

When I arrived at Paris, the king was already gone to Marly, where the indiſpoſition which he had begun to feel at Verſailles increaſed upon him. He was the beſt friend the chevalier had: and when I engaged in this buſineſs, my principal dependence was on his perſonal character. This failed me to a great degree: he was not in a condition to exert the ſame vigour as formerly. The miniſters, who ſaw ſo great an event as his death to be probably at hand, a certain minority, an uncertain regency, perhaps confuſion, at beſt a new face of government and a new ſyſtem of affairs, would not, for their own ſakes, as well as for the ſake of the public, venture to engage far in any new meaſures. All I had to negotiate by myſelf firſt, and in conjunction with the Duke of Ormond ſoon afterwards, languiſhed with the king. My hopes ſunk as he declined, and died when he expired. The event of things has ſufficiently ſhewn that all thoſe, which were entertained by the duke and the Jacobite party under the regency, were founded on the groſſeſt deluſions imaginable. Thus was the project become impracticable before the time arrived, which was fixed by thoſe, who directed things in England, for putting it in execution.

The new government of France appeared to me like a ſtrange country. I was little acquainted with the ſcene. Moſt of the faces I met with were un-

known to me, and I hardly underſtood the language of the people. Of the men who had been in power under the late reign, many were diſcarded, and moſt of the others were too much taken up with the thoughts of ſecuring themſelves under this, to receive applications in favour of the pretender. The two men who had the greateſt appearance of favour and power were D'Agueſſeu and Noailles. One was made chancellor, on the death of Voiſin, from attorney general; and the other was placed at the head of the treaſury. The firſt paſſes for a man of parts, but he never acted out of the ſphere of the law: I had no acquaintance with him before this time; and when you conſider his circumſtances and mine, you will not think it could be very eaſy for me to get acceſs to him now. The latter I had known extremely well whilſt the late king lived: and from the ſame court principle, as he was glad to be well with me then, he would hardly know me now. The * miniſter who had the principal direction of foreign affairs I lived in friendſhip with, and I muſt own to his honour, that he never encouraged a deſign, which he knew that his court had no intention of ſupporting.

There were other perſons, not to tire you with farther particulars upon this head, of credit and influence, with whom I found indirect and private ways of converſing: but it was in vain to expect any more than civil language from them, in a caſe which they found no diſpoſition in their maſter to

* M. De Huxelles.

countenance,

countenance, and in favour of which they had no prejudices of their own. The private engagements into which the Duke of Orleans had entered with his majeſty, during the life of the late king, will abate of their force as the regent grows into ſtrength, and would ſoon have had no force at all if the pretender had met with ſucceſs: but in theſe beginnings they operated very ſtrongly. The air of this court was to take the counterpart of all which had been thought right under Lewis the fourteenth. *Cele reſemble trop à l'ancien ſyſtème*, was an anſwer ſo often given, that it became a jeſt, and almoſt a proverb. But to finiſh this account with a fact which is incredible, but ſtrictly true; the very peace, which had ſaved France from ruin, and the makers of it, were become as unpopular at this court, as at the court of Vienna.

The Duke of Ormond flattered himſelf in this ſtate of things, that he had opened a private and ſure channel of arriving at the regent, and of bending him to his purpoſes. His grace and I lived together at this time in an houſe which one of my friends had lent me. I obſerved that he was frequently loſt, and that he made continual excurſions out of town, with all the myſterious precaution imaginable. I doubted at firſt, whether theſe intrigues related to buſineſs or pleaſure. I ſoon diſcovered with whom they were carried on, and had reaſon to believe that both were mingled in them. It is neceſſary that I explain this ſecret to you.

Mrs. Trant, whom I have named above, had been preparing herſelf for the retired abſtemious life

of

of a * carmelite, by taking a ſurfeit of the pleaſures of Paris; when a little before the death of the queen, or about that time, ſhe went into England. What ſhe was entruſted, either by the chevalier, or any other perſon, to negotiate there, I am ignorant of; and it imports not much to know. In that journey ſhe made or renewed an acquaintance with the Duke of Ormond. The ſcandalous chronicle affirms, that ſhe brought with her, when ſhe returned into France, a woman, of whom I have not the leaſt knowledge, but who was probably handſome; ſince without beauty ſuch a merchandiſe would not have been ſaleable, nor have anſwered the deſign of the importer: and that ſhe made this way her court to the regent. Whatever her merit was, ſhe kept a correſpondence with him, and put herſelf upon that foot of familiarity, which he permits all thoſe, who contribute to his pleaſures, to aſſume. She was placed by him, as ſhe told me herſelf, where I found her ſometime after that which I am ſpeaking of, in the houſe of an antient gentlewoman, who had formerly been maid of honour to madame, and who had contracted at court a ſpirit of intrigue, which accompanied her in her retreat.

Theſe two had aſſociated to them the abbé de Teſieu, in all the political parts of their buſineſs; for I will not ſuppoſe that ſo reverend an eccleſiaſtic entered into any other ſecret. This abbé is

* She uſed to pretend a reſolution of turning nun. She is ſince married to the Duke of Bouillon's brother, who was too much diſhonoured by his former life, to be ſo even by this ſcandalous match.

the

the regent's ſecretary: and it was chiefly through him that the private treaty had been carried on between his maſter and the Earl of Stair in the king's reign. Whether the prieſt had ſtooped at the lure of a cardinal's hat, or whether he acted the ſecond part by the ſame orders that he acted the firſt, I know not. This is ſure, and the Britiſh miniſter was not the bubble of it, that whilſt he concerted meaſures on one hand to traverſe the pretender's deſigns, he teſtified on the other all the inclination poſſible to his ſervice. A mad fellow, who had been an intendant in Normandy, and ſeveral other politicians of the loweſt form, were at different times taken into this famous junto.

With theſe worthy people his Grace of Ormond negotiated; and no care was omitted on his part to keep me out of the ſecret. The reaſon of which, as far as I am able to gueſs at, ſhall be explained to you by and by. I might very juſtly have taken this proceeding ill, and the duke will not be able to find in my whole conduct towards him any thing like it: I proteſt to you very ſincerely I was not in the leaſt moved at it.

He advanced not a ſtep in his buſineſs with theſe ſham miniſters, and yet imagined that he got daily ground. I made no progreſs with the true ones, but I ſaw it. Theſe, however, were not our only difficulties. We lay under another, which came from your ſide, and which embarraſſed us more. The firſt hindered us from working forward to our point of view, but the ſecond took all point of view from us.

A paper was ſent into England juſt before the death

death of the King of France, which had been drawn by me at Chaville in concert with the Dukes of Ormond and Berwic, and with Monſieur de Torcy. This paper was an anſwer to the memorial received from thence. The ſtate of this country was truly repreſented in it: the difference was fixed between what had been aſked, and what might be expected from France; and upon the whole it was demanded what our friends would do, and what they would have us to do? The reply to this came through the French ſecretary of ſtate to our hands. They declared themſelves unable to ſay any thing, till they ſhould ſee what turn affairs would take on ſo great event as the death of the king, the report of which had reached them.

Such a declaration ſhut our mouths and tied our hands. I confeſs I knew neither how to ſolicit, nor what to ſolicit; this laſt meſſage ſuſpending the project on which we had acted before, and which I kept as an inſtruction conſtantly before mine eyes. It ſeemed to me uncertain, whether you intended to go on, or whether your deſign was to ſtifle, as much as poſſible, all paſt tranſactions; to lie perfectly ſtill; to throw upon the court the odium of having given a falſe alarm, and to wait till new accidents at home, and a more favourable conjuncture abroad, might tempt you to reſume the enterpriſe. Perhaps this would have been the wiſeſt game you could have played: but then, you ſhould have concerted it with us who acted for you here. You intended no ſuch thing, as appeared afterwards: and therefore thoſe who acted for the party at London, whoever they were, muſt be deemed inexcuſable for leaving things on the foot of this meſſage, and giving

ing us no advice fit to be depended upon for many weeks. Whilſt preparations were to be made, and the work was to be ſet a going by aſſiſtance from hence, you might reaſonably expect to hear from us, and to be determined by us: but when all hopes of this kind ſeemed to be gone, it was your part to determine us, and we could take no reſolution here, but that of conforming ourſelves to whatever ſhould come preſcribed from England.

Whilſt we were in this condition, the moſt deſperate that can be imagined, we began to receive verbal meſſages from you, that no more time was to be loſt, and that the chevalier ſhould come away. No man was, I believe, ever ſo embarraſſed as I found myſelf at that time. I could not imagine that you would content yourſelves by looſe verbal meſſages, after all that had happened, to call us over; and I knew by experience how little ſuch meſſages are to be depended on. For, ſoon after I engaged in theſe affairs, a monk arrived at Bar, diſpatched, as he affirmed, by the Duke of Ormond, in whoſe name he inſiſted that the chevalier ſhould haſten into Britain, and that nothing but his preſence was wanting to place the crown on his head. The fellow delivered his errand ſo poſitively, and ſo circumſtantially, that the reſolution was taken at Bar to ſet out, and my rendezvous to join the chevalier was appointed me. This method to fetch a king, with as little ceremony as one would invite a friend to ſupper, appeared ſomewhat odd to me, who was then very new in theſe affairs. But when I came to talk with the man, for by good luck he had been ſent for from Bar to Paris, I eaſily diſcerned that he had

had no ſuch commiſſion as he pretended to, and that he acted of his own head. I preſumed to oppoſe the taking any reſolution upon his word, though he was a monk: and ſoon after we knew from the Duke of Ormond himſelf, that he had never ſent him.

This example made me cautious; but that which determined my opinion was, that I could never imagine, without ſuppoſing you all run mad, that the ſame men who judged this attempt unripe for execution, unleſs ſupported by regular troops from France, or at leaſt by all the other aſſiſtances which are enumerated above, while the deſign was much more ſecret than at preſent; when the king had no fleet at ſea, nor more than 8000 men diſperſed over the whole iſland; when we had the good wiſhes of the French court on our ſide, and were ſure of ſome particular aſſiſtances, and of a general connivance; that the ſame men, I ſay, ſhould preſs for making it now without any other preparation, when we had neither money, arms, ammunition, nor a ſingle company of foot; when the government of England was on it's guard, national troops were raiſed, foreign forces ſent for, and France, like all the reſt of the continent, againſt us. I could not conceive ſuch a ſtrange combination of accidents as ſhould make the neceſſity of acting increaſe gradually upon us, as the means of doing ſo were taken from us.

Upon the whole matter, my opinion was, and I did not obſerve the Duke of Ormond to differ from me, that we ſhould wait till we heard from you in ſuch a manner, as might aſſure us of what you intended

intended to do yourſelves, and of what you expected from us; and that in the mean while we ſhould go as far as the little money which we had, and the little favour which was ſhewn us would allow, in getting ſome embarkations ready on the coaſt.

Sir George Byng had come into the road of Havre, and had demanded by name ſeveral ſhips which belonged to us, to be given up to him. The regent did not think fit to let him have the ſhips; but he ordered them to be unloaded, and their cargoes were put into the king's magazines. We were in no condition to repair the loſs; and therefore, when I mention embarkations, you will pleaſe to underſtand nothing more than veſſels to tranſport the pretender's perſon, and the perſons of thoſe who ſhould go over with him. This was all we could do, and this was not neglected.

We were thus employed when a gentleman arrived from Scotland to repreſent the ſtate of that country, and to require a definitive anſwer from the Chevalier, whether he would have the inſurrection to be made immediately, which they apprehended they might not be able to make at all if they were obliged to defer it much longer. This gentleman was ſent inſtantly back again, and was directed to let the perſons he came from know, that the chevalier was deſirous to have the riſing of his friends in England and Scotland ſo adjuſted, that they might mutually aſſiſt each other, and diſtract the enemy; that he had not received a final anſwer from his friends in England, but that he was in daily expectation of it; that it was very much to be wiſhed, that all attempts in Scotland could be ſuſpended till

ſuch time as the Engliſh were ready; but that if the Scots were ſo preſſed, that they muſt either ſubmit or riſe immediately, he was of opinion they ſhould riſe, and he would make the beſt of his way to them.

What this forwardneſs in the Scots, and this uncertainty and backwardneſs in the Engliſh muſt produce, it was not hard to foreſee; and therefore, that I might neglect nothing in my power to prevent any falſe meaſures, as I was conſcious to myſelf that I had neglected nothing to promote true ones, I diſpatched a gentleman to London, where I ſuppoſed the Earl of Mar to be, ſome days before the meſſage I have juſt ſpoken of was ſent to Scotland. I deſired him to make my compliments to Lord Mar, and to tell him from me, that I underſtood it to be his ſenſe, as well as the ſenſe of all our friends, that Scotland could do nothing effectually without the concurrence of England, and that England would not ſtir without aſſiſtance from abroad; that he might aſſure himſelf no ſuch aſſiſtance could be depended upon; and that I begged of him to make the inference from theſe propoſitions. The gentleman went; but upon his arrival at London he found that the Earl of Mar was already ſet out to draw the Highlanders into arms. He communicated his meſſage to a perſon * of confidence, who undertook to ſend it after his lordſhip: and this was the utmoſt which either he or I could do in ſuch a conjuncture.

* Mr. Lewis, who belonged to the Earl of Oxford.

You

You were now visibly departed from the very scheme which you had sent us over, and from all the principles which had been ever laid down. I did what I could to keep up my own spirit, as well as the spirits of the chevalier, and of all those with whom I was in correspondence: I endeavoured even to deceive myself. I could not remedy the mischief, and I was resolved to see the conclusion of the perilous adventure. But I own to you, that I thought then, and that I have not changed my opinion since, that such measures as these would not be pursued by any reasonable man, in the most common affairs of life. It was with the utmost astonishment that I saw them pursued in the conduct of an enterprise, which had for it's object nothing less than the disposition of crowns, and for the means of bringing it about nothing less than a civil war.

Impatient that we heard nothing from England, when we expected every moment to hear that the war was begun in Scotland; the Duke of Ormond and I resolved to send a person * of confidence to London. We instructed him to repeat to you the former accounts, which we had sent over, to let you know how destitute the chevalier was, either of actual support, or even of reasonable hopes; and to desire that you would determine whether he should go to Scotland, or throw himself on some part of the English coast. This person was farther instructed to tell you, that, the Chevalier being ready to

* Mr. Ezechiel Hamilton: he got all the papers by heart.

take any reſolution at a moment's warning, you might depend on his ſetting out the inſtant he received your anſwer: and therefore that to ſave time, if your intention was to riſe, you would do well to act immediately, on the aſſurance that the plan you preſcribed, be it what it would, ſhould be exactly complied with. We took this reſolution the rather, becauſe one of the pacquets which had been prepared in cypher, to give you an account of things, which had been put above three weeks before into Monſieur de Torcy's hands, and which by conſequence we thought to be in yours, was by this time ſent back to me by this miniſter, I think open, with an excuſe that he durſt not take upon him to forward it.

The perſon diſpatched to London returned very ſoon to us, and the anſwer he brought was *, that ſince affairs grew daily worſe, and could not mend by delay, our friends in England had reſolved to declare immediately, and that they would be ready to join the Chevalier on his landing: that his perſon would be as ſafe there as in Scotland, and that, in every other reſpect, it was better that he ſhould land in England; that they had uſed their utmoſt endeavours, and that they hoped the weſtern counties were in a good poſture to receive him. To this was added, a general indication of the place he ſhould come to, as near to Plymouth as poſſible.

You muſt agree, that this was not the anſwer of men who knew what they were about. A little

* Lanſdown gave this anſwer in the name of all the perſons privy to the ſecret.

more

more preciſion was neceſſary in dictating a meſſage, which was to have ſuch conſequences: and eſpecially ſince the gentleman could not fail to acquaint the perſons he ſpoke with, that the Chevalier was not able to carry men enough to ſecure him from being taken, even by the firſt conſtable. Notwithſtanding this, the Duke of Ormond ſet out from Paris, and the Chevalier from Bar. Some perſon were ſent to the north of England, and others to London, to give notice that they were both on their way. Their routs were ſo ordered, that the Duke of Ormond was to ſail from the coaſt of Normandy ſome days before the Chevalier arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was to ſend immediate notice of his landing; and two gentlemen acquainted with the country, and perfectly well known to all our friends in thoſe parts, were diſpatched before, that the people of Devonſhire and Somerſetſhire, who were, we concluded, in arms, might be appriſed of the ſignals which were to be made from the ſhips, and might be ready to receive the duke.

On the coaſt of France, and before his embarkation, the duke heard that ſeveral of our principal friends had been ſeiſed, immediately after the perſon who came laſt from them had left London; that the others were all diſperſed; and that the conſternation was univerſal. He embarked notwithſtanding this melancholy news, and, ſupported by nothing but the firmneſs of his temper, he went over to the place appointed: he did more than his part, and he found that our friends had done leſs than theirs. One of the gentlemen, who had paſſed over before him, and had traverſed part of the coun-

try, joined him on the coaſt, and aſſured him that there was not the leaſt room to expect a riſing. In a word, he was refuſed a night's lodging in a country which we had been told was in a good poſture to receive the Chevalier, and where the duke expected that multitudes would repair to him.

He returned to the coaſt of Britany after this uncomfortable expedition, where the chevalier arrived about the ſame time from Lorain. What his grace propoſed by the ſecond attempt, which he made as ſoon as the veſſel could be refitted, to land in the ſame part of the iſland, I profeſs myſelf to be ignorant. I writ him my opinion at the time, and I have always thought, that the ſtorm in which he had like to have been caſt away, and which forced him back to the French coaſt, ſaved him from a much greater peril, that of periſhing in an attempt as full of extravagant raſhneſs, and as void of all reaſonable meaning, as any of thoſe adventures which have rendered the hero of La Mancha immortal.

The chevalier had now but one of theſe two things left him to do, one was to return to Bar, the other was to go to Scotland, where there were people in arms for him. He took this laſt reſolution. He left Britany, where he had as many miniſters as there were people about him, and where he was eternally teiſed with noiſy diſputes about what was to be done in circumſtances, in which no reaſonable thing could be done. He ſent to have a veſſel got ready for him at Dunkirk, and he croſſed the country as privately as he could.

Whilſt all theſe things paſſed, I remained at Paris, to try if by any means ſome aſſiſtance might be at

laſt

laſt procured; without which it was evident, even to thoſe who flattered themſelves the moſt, that the game was up.

No ſooner was the Duke of Ormond gone from Paris, on the deſign which I have mentioned, and Mrs. Trant, who had accompanied him part of the way, returned, but I was ſent for to a little houſe at Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne, where ſhe lived with Mademoiſelle de Chauſſery, the antient gentlewoman with whom the Duke of Orleans had placed her. Theſe two perſons opened to me what had paſſed whilſt the Duke of Ormond was here, and the hopes they had of drawing the regent into all the meaſures neceſſary to ſupport the attempts which were making in favour of the chevalier.

By what they told me at firſt, I ſaw that they had been truſted; and by what paſſed in the courſe of my treating with them, it appeared, that they had the acceſs which they pretended to. All, which I had been able to do by proper perſons and in proper methods, ſince the King of France's death, amounting to little or nothing, I reſolved, at laſt, to try what was to be done by this indirect way. I put myſelf under the conduct of theſe female managers; and, without having the ſame dependence on them as his grace of Ormond had, I puſhed their credit and their power as far as they reached during the time I continued to ſee them. I met with ſmoother language and greater hopes than had been given me hitherto. A note ſigned by the regent, ſuppoſed to be writ to a woman, but which was to be explained to be intended for the Earl of Mar, was put into my hands to be ſent to Scotland. I took

a copy

a copy of it, which you may ſee at the end of theſe papers *. When Sir John Areſkine came to preſs for ſuccour, the regent was prevailed upon by theſe women to ſee him; but he carried nothing real back with him, except a quantity of gold, part of the money which we had drawn from Spain, and which was loſt with the veſſel, in a very odd manner, on the Scots coaſt. The Duke of Ormond had been promiſed ſeven or eight thouſand arms, which were drawn out of the magazines, and ſaid to be lodged, I think, at Compeigne. I uſed my utmoſt efforts that theſe arms might be carried forward to the coaſt, and I undertook for their tranſportation: but all was in vain; ſo that the likelihood of bringing any thing to effect in time appeared to me no greater, than I had found it before I entered into this intrigue.

I ſoon grew tired of a commerce, which nothing but ſucceſs could render tolerable; and reſolved to be no longer amuſed by the pretences, which were daily repeated to me, that the regent had entertained perſonal prejudices againſt me, and that he was inſenſibly, and by degrees, to be dipped in our meaſures; that both theſe things required time, but that they would certainly be brought about, and that we ſhould then be able to anſwer all the expectations of the Engliſh and the Scots. The firſt of theſe pretences contained a fact, which I could hardly perſuade myſelf to be true, becauſe I knew very certainly, that I had never given his royal highneſs the leaſt occaſion for ſuch prejudices: the ſecond was a

* This note has not been found among the author's papers.

work

work which might ſpin out into a great and uncertain length. I took my reſolution to drive what related to myſelf to an immediate explanation, and what related to others to an immediate deciſion; not to ſuffer any excuſe for doing nothing to be founded on my conduct, nor the ſalvation, if I could hinder it, of ſo many gallant men as were in arms in Scotland, to reſt on the ſucceſs of ſuch womaniſh projects. I ſhall tell you what I did on the firſt head now, and what I did on the ſecond hereafter, in its proper place.

The fact which, it was ſaid, the regent laid to my charge, was a correſpondence with Lord Stair, and having been one night at his houſe, from whence I did not retire till three in the morning. As ſoon as I got hold of this, I deſired the marſhal of Berwick to go to him. The marſhal told him from me, that I had been extremely concerned to hear, in general, that I lay under his diſpleaſure; that a ſtory which, it was ſaid, he believed, had been related to me; that I expected the juſtice, which he could deny to no man, of having the accuſation proved, in which caſe I was contented to paſs for the laſt of human kind; or of being juſtified, if it could not be proved. He anſwered, that ſuch a ſtory had been related to him by ſuch perſons as he thought would not have deceived him; that he had been ſince convinced that it was falſe, and that I ſhould be ſatisfied of his regard for me: but that, he muſt own, he was very uneaſy to find, that I, who could apply to him through the marſhal d'Huxelles, could chuſe to treat with Mrs. Trant, and the reſt; for he named all the cabal, except his

ſecretary

ſecretary, whom I had never met at Mademoiſelle Chauſſery's. He added, that theſe people teiſed him, at my inſtigation, to death; and that they were not fit to be truſted with any buſineſs. He applied to ſome of them the ſevereſt epithets. The marſhal of Berwick replied, that he was ſure I ſhould receive the whole of what he had been pleaſed to ſay with the greateſt ſatisfaction; that I had treated with thoſe perſons much againſt my will; and, finally, that if his royal higneſs would not employ them, he was ſure I would never apply to them. In a converſation which I had, not long after, with him, he ſpoke to me in much the ſame terms as he had done to the marſhal. I went from him very ill edified as to his intentions of doing any thing in favour of the Chevalier; but I carried away with me this ſatisfaction, that he had aſſigned me, from his own mouth, the perſon through whom I ſhould make my applications to him, and through whom I ſhould depend on receiving his anſwers; that he had diſavowed all the little politic clubs, and had commanded me to have no more to do with them.

Before I reſume the thread of my narration, give me leave to make ſome reflection upon what I have been laſt ſaying to you. When I met with the Duke of Ormond, at his return from the coaſt, he thought himſelf obliged to ſay ſomething to excuſe his keeping me out of a ſecret, which during his abſence I had been let into. His excuſe was, that the regent had exacted from him that I ſhould know nothing of the matter. You will obſerve, that the account which I have given you ſeems to contradict this aſſertion of his grace, ſince it is hard to ſuppoſe,

poſe, that, if the regent had exacted that I ſhould be kept out of the ſecret, theſe women would have dared to let me into it; and ſince it is ſtill harder to ſuppoſe, that the regent would make this expreſs condition with the Duke of Ormond, and, the moment the Duke's back was turned, would ſuffer theſe women to teiſe him from me, and to bring me anſwers from him. I am, however, far from taxing the Duke with affirming an untruth. I believe the regent did make ſuch a condition with him: and I will tell you how I underſtand all this little management; which will explain a great deal to you. This prince, with wit and valour, has joined all the irreſolution of temper poſſible, and is, perhaps, the man in the world the leaſt capable of ſaying no to your face. From hence it happened, that theſe women, like multitudes of other people, forced him to ſay and do enough to give them the air of having credit with him, and of being truſted by him. This drew in the Duke of Ormond, who is not, I dare ſay, as yet undeceived. The regent never intended, from the firſt, to do any thing, even indirectly, in favour of the Jacobite cauſe. His intereſt was plainly on the other ſide, and he ſaw it. But then the ſame weakneſs in his character carried him, as it would have done his great uncle Gaſton, in the ſame caſe, to keep meaſures with the Chevalier. His double trimming character prevailed on him to talk with the Duke of Ormond: but it carried him no farther. I queſtion not but he did, on this occaſion, what you muſt have obſerved many men to do. We not only endeavour to impoſe on the world, but even on ourſelves,

ſelves. We diſguiſe our weakneſs, and work up in our minds an opinion, that the meaſure which we fall into by the natural or habitual imperfection of our character, is the effect of a principle of prudence, or of ſome other virtue. Thus the regent, who ſaw the Duke of Ormond, becauſe he could not reſiſt the importunity of Olive Trant, and who gave hopes to the Duke, becauſe he can refuſe no body, made himſelf believe that it was a great ſtrain of policy to blow up the fire, and to keep Britain embroiled. I am perſuaded that I do not err in judging that he thought in this manner; and here I fix the reaſon of his excluding me out of the commerce which he had with the Duke of Ormond, of his affecting a perſonal diſlike of me, and of his avoiding any correſpondence with me upon theſe matters; till I forced myſelf in a manner upon him, and he could not keep me any longer at a diſtance, without departing from his firſt principle, that of keeping meaſures with every body. He then threw me, or let me ſlide if you will, into the hands of theſe women; and when he found that I preſſed him hard that way too, he took me out of their hands, and put me back again into the proper channel of buſineſs; where I had not been long, as you will ſee by and by, before the ſcene of amuſement was finiſhed.

Sir John Areſkine told me, when he came from the firſt audience that he had of his royal highneſs, that he put him in mind of the encouragement which he had given the Earl of Mar to take arms. I never heard any thing of this kind, but what Sir John let drop to me. If the fact be true, you

ſee

ſee that the Scots general had been amuſed by him with a witneſs. The Engliſh general was ſo in his turn; and, while this was doing, the regent might think it beſt to have him to himſelf. Four eyes comprehend more objects than two, and I was a little better acquainted with the characters of people, and the maſs of the country, than the Duke, though this court had been at firſt a ſtrange country to me, in compariſon of the former.

An infinity of little circumſtances concurred to make me form this opinion, ſome of which are better felt than explained, and many of which are not preſent to my memory. That which had the greateſt weight with me, and which is, I think, deciſive, I will mention. At the very time when it is pretended that the regent treated with the Duke of Ormond, on the expreſs condition that I ſhould know nothing of the matter; two * perſons of the firſt rank and greateſt credit in this court, when I made the moſt preſſing inſtances to them in favour of the Chevalier, threw out in converſation to me, that I ſhould attach myſelf to the Duke of Orleans, that in my circumſtances I might want him, and that he might have occaſion for me. Something was intimated of penſions, and eſtabliſhment, and of making my peace at home. I would not underſtand this language, becauſe I would not break with the people who held it: and when they ſaw that I would not take the hints, they ceaſed to give them.

* Marſhal d'Huxelles, marquis d'Effiat: twenty-five thouſand pounds offered by the laſt.

I fancy that you ſee by this time the motives of the regent's conduct. I am not, I confeſs, able to explain to you thoſe of the Duke of Ormond's: I cannot ſo much as gueſs at them. When he came into France, I was careful to ſhew him all the friendſhip, and all the reſpect poſſible. My friends were his, my purſe was his, and even my bed was his. I went further, I did all thoſe things which touch moſt ſenſibly people who have been uſed to pomp. I made my court to him, and haunted his levee with aſſiduity. In return to this behaviour, which was the pure effect of my good will, and which no duty that I owed his grace, no obligation that I had to him, impoſed upon me; I have great reaſon to ſuſpect, that he went at leaſt half way in all which was ſaid or done againſt me. He threw himſelf blindly into the ſnare which was laid for him; and inſtead of hindering, as he and I in concert might have done, thoſe affairs from languiſhing in the manner they did ſeveral months, he furniſhed this court with an excuſe for not treating with me, till it was too late to play even a ſaving game; and he neither drove the regent to aſſiſt the Chevalier, nor to declare that he would not aſſiſt him; though it was fatal to the cauſe in general, and to the Scots in particular, not to bring one of the two about.

It was Chriſtmas 1715, before the Chevalier ſailed for Scotland. The battle of Dunblain had been fought, the buſineſs of Preſton was over: there remained not the leaſt room to expect any commotion in his favour among the Engliſh; and many of the Scots, who had declared for him, began to grow cool in the cauſe. No proſpect of ſucceſs

ſucceſs could engage him in this expedition: but it was become neceſſary for his reputation. The Scots, on one ſide, ſpared not to reproach him, I think unjuſtly, for his delay; and the French, on the other, were extremely eager to have him gone. Some of thoſe, who knew little of Britiſh affairs, imagined that his preſence would produce miraculous effects. You muſt not be ſurpriſed at this. As near neighbours as we are, ninety-nine in an hundred among the French are as little acquainted with the inſide of our iſland, as with that of Japan. Others of them were uneaſy to ſee him ſkulking about in France, and to be told of it every hour by the Earl of Stair. Others again imagined, that he might do their buſineſs by going into Scotland, though he ſhould not do his own: that is, they flattered themſelves that he might keep a war for ſome time alive, which would employ the whole attention of our government; and for the event of which they had very little concern. Unable from their natural temper, as well as their habits, to be true to any principle, they thought and acted in this manner, whilſt they affected the greateſt friendſhip to the king, and whilſt they really did deſire to enter into new and more intimate engagements with him. Whilſt the Pretender continued in France, they could neither avow him, nor favour his cauſe: if he once ſet his foot on Scots ground, they gave hopes of indirect aſſiſtance: and if he could maintain himſelf in any corner of the iſland,

they could look upon him, * it was ſaid, as a king. This was their language to us. To the Britiſh miniſter they denied, they foreſwore, they renounced; and yet the † man of the beſt head in all their councils, being aſked by Lord Stair what they intended to do; anſwered, before he was aware, that they pretended to be neuters. I leave you to judge how this ſlip was taken up.

As ſoon as I received advice, that the Chevalier was ſailed from Dunkirk, I renewed, I redoubled, all my applications. I neglected no means, I forgot no argument which my underſtanding could ſuggeſt to me. What the duke of Ormond reſted upon, you have ſeen already: and I doubt very much whether Lord Mar, if he had been here in my place, would have been able to employ meaſures more effectual than thoſe which I made uſe of. I may, without any imputation of arrogance, compare myſelf on this occaſion with his lordſhip, ſince there was nothing in the management of this affair above my degree of capacity; nothing equal, either in extent or difficulty, to the buſineſs which he was a ſpectator of, and which I carried on when we were ſecretaries of ſtate together under the late Queen.

The king of France, who was not able to furniſh the Pretender with money himſelf, had writ ſome time before his death to his grandſon, and had obtained a promiſe of 400,000 crowns from the king of Spain. A ſmall part of this ſum had been

* Diſcourſe of abbe d'Eſtrees, afterwards archbiſhop of Cambray.

† Marq. d'Huxelles.

received

received by the queen's treaſurer at St. Germains, and had been either ſent to Scotland, or employed to defray the expences which were daily making on the coaſt. I preſſed the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Paris, I ſolicited by Lawleſs Alberoni, at Madrid; and I found * another more private and more promiſing way of applying to him. I took care to have a number of officers picked out of the Iriſh troops, which ſerve in that country; their routs were given them, and I ſent a ſhip to receive and tranſport them. The money came in ſo ſlowly, and in ſuch trifling ſums, that it turned to little account; and the officers were on their way when the Chevalier returned from Scotland.

In the ſummer endeavours had been uſed to prevail on the king of Sweden to tranſport, from Gottenburg, the troops he had in that neighbourhood into Scotland, or into the north of England. He had excuſed himſelf, not becauſe he diſliked the propoſition, which, on the contrary, he thought agreeable to his intereſt: but for reaſons of another kind. Firſt, becauſe the troops at hand for this ſervice conſiſted in horſe, not in foot, which had been aſked, and which were alone proper for ſuch an expedition: ſecondly, becauſe a declaration of this ſort might turn the proteſtant princes of the empire, from whoſe offices he had ſtill ſome proſpect of aſſiſtance, againſt him: and thirdly, becauſe although he knew that the king of Great Britain was his enemy, yet they were not in war together, nor had the latter acted yet a while openly enough a-

* Marquis Monti.

gainſt him to juſtify ſuch a rupture. At the time I am ſpeaking of, theſe reaſons were removed by the king of Sweden's being beat out of the empire, by the little conſequence which his management of the proteſtant princes was to him, and by the declaration of war which the king as elector of Hanover made. I took up this negotiation therefore again. The regent appeared to come into it. He ſpoke fair to the baron de Spar, who preſſed him on his ſide, as I preſſed him on mine, and promiſed, beſides the arrears of the ſubſidy due to the Swedes, an immediate advance of fifty thouſand crowns, for the enterpriſe on Britain. He kept the officer who was to be diſpatched, I know not how long booted; ſometimes on pretence, that in the low ſtate of his credit he could not find bills of exchange for the ſum, and ſometimes on other pretences; and by theſe delays he evaded his promiſe. The French were very frank in declaring, that they could give us no money, and that they would give us no troops. Arms, ammunition, and connivance, they made us hope for. The latter in ſome degree we might have had, perhaps; but to what purpoſe was it to connive, when, by a multitude of little tricks, they avoided furniſhing us with arms and ammunition, and when they knew that we were utterly unable to furniſh ourſelves with them? I had formed the deſign of engaging French privateers in the Pretender's ſervice. They were to have carried whatever we ſhould have had to ſend to any part of Britain in their firſt voyage, and, after that, to have cruiſed under his commiſſion. I had actually agreed for ſome, and it was in my power to have made

the

the ſame bargains with others. Sweden, on one ſide, and Scotland on the other, would have afforded them retreats: and if the war had been kept up in any part of the mountains, I conceive the execution of this deſign would have been of the greateſt advantage to the Pretender. It failed, becauſe no other part of the work went on. He was not above ſix weeks in his Scots expedition, and theſe were the things I endeavoured to bring to bear in his abſence. I had no great opinion of my ſucceſs before he went; but when he had made the laſt ſtep which it was in his power to make, I reſolved to ſuffer neither him nor the Scots to be any longer bubbles of their own credulity, and of the ſcandalous artifice of this court. It would be tedious to enter into a longer narrative of all the uſeleſs pains I took. To conclude, therefore, in a converſation which I had with the M. d'Huxelles, I took occaſion to declare, that I would not be the inſtrument of amuſing the Scots; and that ſince I was able to do them no other ſervice, I would at leaſt inform them, that they muſt flatter themſelves no longer with hopes of ſuccour from France. I added, that I would ſend them veſſels which, with thoſe already on the coaſt of Scotland, might ſerve to bring off the Pretender, the Earl of Mar, and as many others as poſſible. The marſhal approved my reſolution, and adviſed me to execute it as the only thing which was left to do. On this occaſion he ſhewed no reſerve, he was very explicit: and yet, in this very point of time, the promiſe of an order was obtained, or pretended to be obtained, from the regent, for delivering thoſe

ſtores

ſtores of arms and ammunition which belonged to the Chevalier, and which had been put into the French magazines when Sir George Byng came to Havre. Caſtel Blanco is a Spaniard, who married a daughter of lord Melford, and who, under that title, ſet up for a meddler in Engliſh buſineſs. I cannot juſtly tell whether the honour of obtaining this promiſe was aſcribed to him, to the junto in the Bois de Boulogne, or to any one elſe. I ſuppoſe they all aſſumed a ſhare of the merit. The project was, that the ſtores ſhould be delivered to Caſtel Blanco; that he ſhould enter into a recognizance to carry them to Spain, and from thence to the Weſt-Indies; that I ſhould provide a veſſel for this purpoſe, which he ſhould appear to hire or buy; and that when ſhe was at ſea ſhe ſhould ſail directly for Scotland. You cannot believe that I reckoned much on the effect of this order: but, accuſtomed to concur in meaſures, the inutility of which I ſaw evidently enough, I concurred in this likewiſe. The neceſſary care was taken, and in a fortnight's time the ſhip was ready to ſail, and no ſuſpicion of her belonging to the Chevalier, or of her deſtination, was gone abroad.

As this event made no alteration in my opinion, it made none in the diſpatches which I prepared, and ſent to Scotland. In them I gave an account of what was in negotiation. I explained to him what might be hoped for in time, if he was able to maintain himſelf in the mountains without the ſuccours he demanded from France. But from France, I told him plainly, that it was in vain to expect the leaſt part of them. In ſhort, I concealed

cealed nothing from him. This was all I could do to put the Chevalier and his council in a condition to judge what measures to take: but these dispatches never came to his hands. He was sailed from Scotland just before the gentleman, whom I sent, arrived on the coast. He landed at Graveline about the twenty-second of February; and the first orders he gave, were to stop all the vessels which were going on his account to the country from whence he came.

I saw him the morning after his arrival at St. Germains, and he received me with open arms. I had been, as soon as we heard of his return, to acquaint the French court with it. They were not a little uneasy; and the first thing which the M. D'Huxelles said to me upon it was, that the Chevalier ought to proceed to Bar with all the diligence possible, and to take possession of his former asylum before the Duke of Lorrain had time to desire him to look out for a residence some where else. Nothing more was meaned by this proposal, than to get him out of the dominions of France immediately. I was not in my mind averse to it, for other reasons. Nothing could be more disadvantageous to him, than to be obliged to pass the Alps, or to reside in the papal territory on this side of them. Avignon was already named for his retreat, in common conversation; and I know not whether, from the time he left Scotland, he ever thought of any other. I imagined that by surprising the Duke of Lorrain, we should furnish that prince with an excuse to the King, and to the emperor; that we might draw the matter into length, and gain time

time to negotiate ſome other retreat, than that of Avignon, for the Chevalier. The Duke's good will there was no room to doubt of; and by what the prince of Vaudemont told me at Paris, ſome time afterwards, I am apt to think we ſhould have ſucceeded. In all events, it could not be wrong to try every meaſure, and the Pretender would have gone to Avignon with much better grace, when he had done, in the ſight of the world, all he could to avoid it.

I found him in no diſpoſition to make ſuch haſte: he had a mind, on the contrary, to ſtay ſome time at St. Germains, and in the neighbourhood of Paris, and to have a private meeting with the regent. He ſent me back to Paris, to ſolicit this meeting. I writ, I ſpoke to the Marſhal D'Huxelles, I did my beſt to ſerve him in his own way. The Marſhal anſwered me by word of mouth, and by letter. He refuſed me by both. I remember he added this circumſtance, that he found the regent in bed, and acquainted him with what the Chevalier deſired; that the regent roſe up in a paſſion, ſaid that the things which were aſked were puerilities, and ſwore that he would not ſee him. I returned without having been able to ſucceed in my commiſſion; and, I confeſs, I thought the want of ſucceſs, on this occaſion, no great misfortune.

It was two or three o'clock on the Sunday or Monday morning when I parted from the Pretender. He acquieſced in the determination of the regent, and declared that he would inſtantly ſet out for Lorrain: his trunks were packed; his chaiſe was ordered to be at the door at five, and I ſent to Paris

Paris, to acquaint the miniſter that he was gone. He aſked me how ſoon I ſhould be able to follow him, gave me commiſſions for ſome things, which he deſired I ſhould bring after him; and, in a word, no Italian ever embraced the man he was going to ſtab, with greater ſhew of affection and confidence.

Inſtead of taking poſt for Lorrain, he went to the little houſe in the Bois de Boulogne, where his female miniſters reſided; there he continued lurking for ſeveral days, and pleaſing himſelf with the air of myſtery and buſineſs, whilſt the only real buſineſs, which he ſhould have had at that time, lay neglected. He ſaw the Spaniſh and Swediſh miniſters in this place. I cannot tell, for I never thought it worth aſking, whether he ſaw the Duke of Orleans: poſſibly he might. To have been teiſed into ſuch a ſtep, which ſignified nothing, and which gave the cabal an air of credit and importance, is agreeable enough to the levity of his Royal Highneſs's character.

The Thurſday following the Duke of Ormond came to ſee me, and after the compliment of telling me, that he believed I ſhould be ſurpriſed at the meſſage he brought, he put into my hands a note to himſelf, and a little ſcrip of paper directed to me, and drawn in the ſtile of a juſtice of peace's warrant. They were both in the Chevalier's handwriting, and they were dated on the Tueſday, in order to make me believe that they had been writ on the road, and ſent back to the duke: his grace dropped in our converſation, with great dexterity, all the inſinuations proper to confirm me in this opinion. I knew at this time his maſter was not

gone;

gone; ſo that he gave me two very riſible ſcenes, which are frequently to be met with when ſome people meddle in buſineſs; I mean that of ſeeing a man labour with a great deal of aukward artifice to make a ſecret of a nothing, and that of ſeeing yourſelf taken for a bubble when you know as much of the matter, as he who thinks that he impoſes on you.

I cannot recollect preciſely the terms of the two papers. I remember that the kingly laconic ſtile of one of them, and the expreſſion of having no farther occaſion for my ſervice, made me ſmile. The other was an order to give up the papers in my office; all which might have been continued in a letter-caſe of a moderate ſize. I gave the duke the ſeals, and ſome papers which I could readily come at. Some others, and indeed all ſuch as I had not deſtroyed, I ſent afterwards to the chevalier: and I took care to convey to him, by a ſafe hand, ſeveral of his letters, which it would have been very improper the duke ſhould have ſeen. I am ſurpriſed that he did not reflect on the conſequence of my obeying his order literally. It depended on me to have ſhewn his general what an opinion the Chevalier had of his capacity. I ſcorned the trick; and would not appear piqued, when I was far from being angry. As I gave up, without ſcruple, all the papers which remained in my hands, becauſe I was determined never to make uſe of them; ſo I confeſs to you, I took a ſort of pride in never aſking for thoſe of mine which were in the pretender's hands: I contented myſelf with making the duke underſtand how little need there was to get rid of a man

in

in this manner, who had made the bargain which I had done at my engagement; and with taking this firſt opportunity to declare, that I would never more have to do with the pretender, or his cauſe.

That I might avoid being queſtioned and quoted in the moſt curious and the moſt babling town in the world, I related what had paſſed to three or four of my friends, and hardly ſtirred abroad, during a fortnight, out of a little lodging which very few people knew of. At the end of this term the Marſhal of Berwic came to ſee me, and aſked me what I meaned, to confine myſelf to my chamber, when my name was trumpeted about in all the companies of Paris, and the moſt infamous ſtories were ſpread concerning me. This was the firſt notice I had, and it was ſoon followed by others. I appeared immediately in the world, and found there was hardly a ſcurrilous tongue which had not been let looſe on my ſubject; and that thoſe perſons, whom the Duke of Ormond and Earl of Mar muſt influence, or might ſilence, were the loudeſt in defaming me.

Particular inſtances wherein I had failed were cited; and, as it was the faſhion for every Jacobite to affect being in the ſecret, you might have found a multitude of vouchers to facts, which, if they had been true, could in the nature of them be known to very few perſons.

This method, of beating down the reputation of a man by noiſe and impudence, impoſed on the world at firſt, convinced people who were not acquainted with me, and ſtaggered even my friends. But it ceaſed in a few days to have any effect againſt me

The malice was too groſs to paſs upon reflection. Theſe ſtories died away almoſt as faſt as they were publiſhed, for this very reaſon, becauſe they were particular.

They gave out, for inſtance, that I had taken to my own uſe a very great ſum of the chevalier's money, when it was notorious that I had ſpent a great part of my own in his ſervice; and never would be obliged to him for a farthing: in which caſe, I believe, I was ſingle. Upon this head it was eaſy to appeal to a very honeſt gentleman, the queen's treaſurer at St. Germains, through whoſe hands, and not through mine, went the very little money which the Chevalier had.

They gave out, that whilſt he was in Scotland he never heard of me, though it was notorious that I ſent him no leſs than five expreſſes during the ſix weeks which he conſumed in this expedition. It was eaſy, on this head, to appeal to the perſons, to whom my diſpatches had been committed.

Theſe lies, and many others of the ſame ſort, which were founded on particular facts, were diſproved by particular facts, and had not time, at leaſt at Paris, to make any impreſſion. But the principal crime, with which they charged me then, and the only one which ſince that time they have inſiſted upon, is of another nature. This part of their accuſation is general, and it cannot be refuted without doing what I have done above, deducing ſeveral facts, comparing theſe facts together, and reaſoning upon them: nay, that which is worſe, is, that it cannot be fully refuted without the mention of ſome facts, which, in my preſent circumſtances,

it

it would not be very prudent, though I ſhould think it very lawful for me, to divulge. You ſee that I mean the ſtarving the war in Scotland, which it is pretended might have been ſupported, and might have ſucceeded too, if I had procured the ſuccours which were aſked, nay, if I had ſent a little powder. This the Jacobites, who affect moderation and candour, ſhrug their ſhoulders at: they are ſorry for it, but Lord Bolingbroke can never waſh himſelf clean of this guilt; for theſe ſuccours might have been obtained: and a proof that they might, is, that they were ſo by others. Theſe people leave the cauſe of this miſmanagement doubtful, between my treachery and my want of capacity. The pretender, with all the falſe charity and real malice of one who ſets up for devotion, attributes all his misfortunes to my negligence.

The letters which were writ by my ſecretary, above a year ago, into England; the marginal notes which have been made ſince to the letter from Avignon; and what is ſaid above, have ſet this affair in ſo clear a light, that whoever examines, with a fair intention, muſt feel the truth, and be convinced by it. I cannot, however, forbear to make ſome obſervations on the ſame ſubject here. It is even neceſſary that I ſhould do ſo in the deſign of making this diſcourſe the foundation of my juſtification to the Tories at preſent, and to the whole world in time.

There is nothing which my enemies apprehend ſo much as my juſtification: and they have reaſon. But they may comfort themſelves with this reflection, that it will be a misfortune, which will ac-

company me to my grave, that I ſuffered a chain of accidents to draw me into ſuch meaſures and ſuch company; that I have been obliged to defend myſelf againſt ſuch accuſations and ſuch accuſers; that, by aſſociating with ſo much folly, and ſo much knavery, I am become the victim of both; that I was diſtreſſed by the former, when the latter would have been leſs grievous to me, ſince it is much better in buſineſs to be yoked to knaves than fools; and that I put into their hands the means of loading me, like the ſcape goat, with all the evil conſequences of their folly.

In the firſt letters which I received from the Earl of Mar, he writ for arms, for ammunition, for money, for officers, and all things frankly, as if theſe things had been ready, and I had engaged to ſupply him with them, before he ſet up the ſtandard at the Brae of Mar: whereas our condition could not be unknown to his lordſhip; and you have ſeen that I did all I could to prevent his reckoning on any aſſiſtance from hence. As our hopes at this court decreaſed, his lordſhip roſe in his demands: and at the time when it was viſible that the regent intended nothing leſs than even privately and indirectly to ſupport the Scots, the pretender and the Earl of Mar writ for regular forces and a train of artillery; which was in effect to inſiſt that France ſhould enter into a war for them. I might, in anſwer to the firſt inſtances, have aſked Lord Mar, what he did in Scotland? and what he meaned by drawing his countrymen into a war at this time, or at leaſt upon this foot? He, who had dictated not long before a memorial, wherein it was aſſerted, that

that to have a proſpect of ſucceeding in this enterpriſe there muſt be an univerſal inſurrection, and that ſuch an inſurrection was in no ſort probable, unleſs a body of troops was brought to ſupport it? He, who thought that the conſequence of failing, when the attempt was once made, muſt be the utter ruin of the cauſe, and the loſs of the Britiſh liberty? He, who concurred in demanding as a pis-aller, and the leaſt which could be inſiſted on, arms, ammunition, artillery, money, and officers? I ſay, I might have aſked what he meant to begin the dance when he had not the leaſt aſſurance of any ſuccour, but, on the contrary, the greateſt reaſon imaginable to believe this affair was become as deſperate abroad by the death of the moſt Chriſtian King, as it was at home by the diſcovery of the deſign, and by the meaſures taken to defeat it?

Inſtead of acting this part, which would have been wiſe, I took that which was plauſible. I reſolved to contribute all I could to ſupport the buſineſs, ſince it was begun. I encouraged his lordſhip as long as I had the leaſt ground for doing ſo; and I confirmed the Pretender in his reſolution of going to Scotland, when he had nothing better left him to do. If I have any thing to repproach myſelf with, in the whole progreſs of the war in Scotland, it is having encouraged Lord Mar too long. But on the other hand, if I had given up the cauſe, and had writ deſpondingly to him, before this court had explained itſelf as fully as the Marſhal De Huxelles did in the converſation which is mentioned above, it is eaſy to ſee what turn would have been given to ſuch a conduct.

The true cauſe of all the misfortunes which happened to the Scots, and to thoſe who took arms in the north of England, lies here; that they roſe without any previous certainty of foreign help, in direct contradiction to the ſcheme which their leaders themſelves had formed. The excuſe which I have heard made for this, is that the act of parliament for curbing the Highlanders was near to be put in execution; that they would have been diſarmed, and entirely diſabled from riſing at any other time, if they had not roſe at this. You can judge better than I of the validity of this excuſe. It ſeems to me, that by management they might have gained time, and that even when they had been reduced to the dilemma ſuppoſed, they ought to have got together under pretence of reſiſting the infractions of the union, without any mention of the Pretender, and have treated with the government on this foot. By theſe means they might probably have preſerved themſelves in a condition of avowing their deſign when they ſhould be ſure of being backed from abroad: at the worſt they might have declared for the Chevalier when all other expedients failed them. In a word, I take this excuſe not to be very good, and the true reaſon of this conduct to have been the raſhneſs of the people, and the inconſiſtent meaſures of their head.

But admitting the excuſe to be valid, it remains ſtill an undeniable truth, that this is the original fountain from whence all thoſe waters of bitterneſs flowed, which ſo many unhappy people have drunk of. I have ſaid already, that the neceſſity of acting was precipitated before any meaſures to act with

ſucceſs

ſucceſs had been taken; and that the neceſſity of doing ſo ſeemed to increaſe as the means of doing ſo were taken away. To whom is this to be aſcribed? Is it to be aſcribed to me, who had no ſhare in theſe affairs till a few weeks before the Duke of Ormond was forced to abandon England, and the diſcovery of the intended invaſion was publiſhed to parliament and to the world? or is it to be aſcribed to thoſe who had from the firſt been at the head of this undertaking?

Unable to defend this point, the next reſort of the Jacobites is to this impudent and abſurd affirmation, that, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages under which they took arms, they ſhould have ſucceeded, if the indirect aſſiſtances, which were aſked from France, had been obtained: nay, that they ſhould have been able to defend the Highlands, if I had ſent them a little powder. Is it poſſible that a man ſhould be wounded with ſuch blunt weapons? Much more than powder was aſked for from the firſt; and I have already ſaid, that when the Chevalier came into Scotland, regular troops, artillery, *&c.* were demanded. Both he and the Earl of Mar judged it impoſſible to ſtand their ground without ſuch aſſiſtance as theſe. How ſcandalous then muſt it be deemed, that they ſuffer their dependents to ſpread in the world, that for want of a little powder I forced them to abandon Scotland? The Earl of Mar knows, that all the powder in France would not have enabled him to ſtay at Perth as long as he did, if he had not had another ſecurity: and when that failed him, he muſt have quitted the party, if

the

the regent had given us all that he made ſome of us expect.

But to finiſh all that I intend to ſay on a ſubject which has tired me, and perhaps you: the Jacobites affirm that the indirect aſſiſtances, which they deſired, might have been obtained: and I confeſs, that I am inexcuſable if this fact be true. To prove it, they appeal to the little politicians of whom I have ſpoken ſo often. I affirm, on the contrary, that nothing could be obtained here to ſupport the Scots, or to encourage the Engliſh. To prove the aſſertion, I appeal to the miniſters with whom I negotiated, and to the regent himſelf, who, whatever language he may hold in private with other people, cannot controvert with me the truth of what I advance. He excluded me formerly, that he might the more eaſily avoid doing any thing; and perhaps he has blamed me ſince, that he might excuſe his doing nothing. All this may be true, and yet it will remain true, that he would never have been prevailed upon to act directly againſt his intereſt in the only point of view which he has, I mean the crown of France, and againſt the unanimous ſenſe of all his miniſters. Suppoſe that in the time of the late queen, when ſhe had the peace in view, a party in France had implored her aſſiſtance, and had applied to Margery Fielding, to Iſrael, to my lady Oglethorpe, to Dr. Battle, and Lieutenant general Stewart; what ſucceſs do you imagine ſuch applications would have had? The Queen would have ſpoke them fair, ſhe would ſpeak otherwiſe to no body: but do you imagine ſhe would have made one ſtep in their favour? Olive Trant, Magny,

Mademoiſelle

Mademoiſelle Chauſſery, a dirty abbé Brigault, and Mr. Dillon, are characters very appoſite to theſe; and what I ſuppoſe to have paſſed in England is not a whit more ridiculous than what really paſſed here.

I ſay nothing of the ſhips, which the Jacobites pretend that they ſent into Scotland three weeks or a month after the Pretender was returned. I believe they might have had my Lord Stair's connivance then, as well as the regent's. I ſay nothing of the order, which they pretend to have obtained, and which I never ſaw, for the ſtores that were ſeiſed at Havre to be delivered to Caſtel Blanco. I have already ſaid enough on this head; and you cannot have failed to obſerve, that this ſignal favour was never obtained by theſe people till the Marſhal De Huxelles had owned to me, that nothing was to be expected from France, and that the only thing which I could do was to endeavour to bring the Pretender, the Earl of Mar, and the principal perſons who were moſt expoſed off: neither he nor I imagining that any ſuch would be left behind.

When I began to appear in the world, upon the advertiſements which my friends gave me of the clamour that was raiſed againſt me, you will eaſily think I did not enter into ſo many particulars as I have done with you. I ſaid even leſs, than you have ſeen, in thoſe letters which Brinſden writ into England, in March and April was twelve month; and yet the clamour ſunk immediately. The people of conſideration at this court beat it down, and the court of St. Germains grew ſo aſhamed of it, that the Queen thought fit to purge herſelf of having had any ſhare in encouraging the diſcourſes which were

were held againſt me, or having been ſo much as let into the ſecret of the meaſure which preceded them. The provocation was great, but I reſolved to act without paſſion. I ſaw the advantage the Pretender and his council, who diſpoſed of things better for me than I ſhould have done for myſelf, had given me: but I ſaw likewiſe, that I muſt improve this advantage with the utmoſt caution.

As I never imagined that he would treat me in the manner he did, nor that his miniſters could be weak enough to adviſe him to it; I had reſolved, on his return from Scotland, to follow him till his reſidence ſhould be fixed ſomewhere or other: after which, having ſerved the Tories in this, which I looked upon as their laſt ſtruggle for power, and having continued to act in the Pretender's affairs till the end of the term for which I embarked with him; I ſhould have eſteemed myſelf to be at liberty, and ſhould in the civileſt manner I was able have taken my leave of him. Had we parted thus, I ſhould have remained in a very ſtrange ſituation during the reſt of my life: but I had examined myſelf thoroughly, I was determined, I was prepared.

On one ſide he would have thought that he had a ſort of right on any future occaſion to call me out of my retreat; the Tories would probably have thought the ſame thing: my reſolution was taken to refuſe them both, and I foreſaw, that both would condemn me. On the other ſide, the conſideration of his keeping meaſures with me, joined to that of having once openly declared for him, would have created a point of honour, by which I ſhould have been tied down, not only from ever engaging againſt him,

him, but alſo from making my peace at home. The Chevalier cut this gordian knot aſunder at one blow. He broke the links of that chain which former engagements had faſtened on me, and gave me a right to eſteem myſelf as free from all obligations of keeping meaſures with him, as I ſhould have continued if I had never engaged in his intereſt. I took therefore, from that moment, the reſolution of making my peace at home, and of employing all the unfortunate experience I had acquired abroad, to undeceive my friends, and to promote the union and the quiet of my country.

The Earl of Stair had received a full power to treat with me whilſt I was engaged with the Pretender, as I have been ſince informed. He had done me the juſtice to believe me incapable to hearken, in ſuch circumſtances, to any propoſals of that kind: and, as much friendſhip as he had for me, as much as I had for him, we entertained not the leaſt even indirect correſpondence together during that whole time. Soon afterwards he employed a perſon * to communicate to me the diſpoſition of his Majeſty to grant me my pardon, and his own deſire to give me, on this occaſion, all the proofs he could of his inclination in my favour. I embraced the offer, as it became me to do, with all poſſible ſenſe of the King's goodneſs, and of his lordſhip's friendſhip †. We met, we talked toge-

* Saladin of Geneva, then at Paris.

† There will be added, at the end of this relation, an original letter from the Earl of Stair to Mr. Craggs, giving a full account of the tranſaction here mentioned.

ther,

ther, and he wrote to the court on the ſubject. The turn which the miniſters gave to this matter was, to enter into a treaty to reverſe my attainder, and to ſtipulate the conditions on which this act of grace ſhould be granted me.

The notion of a treaty ſhocked me. I reſolved never to be reſtored, rather than go that way to work; and I opened myſelf without any reſerve to Lord Stair. I told him, that I looked on myſelf to be obliged in honour and in conſcience to undeceive my friends in England, both as to the ſtate of foreign affairs, as to the management of the Jacobite intereſt abroad, and as to the characters of perſons; in every one of which points I know them to be moſt grofsly and moſt dangerouſly deluded: that the treatment I had received from the Pretender and his adherents would juſtify me to the world in doing this: that if I remained in exile all my life, he might be aſſured, that I would never more have to do with the Jacobite cauſe; and that if I was reſtored, I ſhould give it an effectual blow, in making that apology which the Pretender has put me under a neceſſity of making: that in doing this I flattered myſelf that I ſhould contribute ſomething to the eſtabliſhment of the King's government, and to the union of his ſubjects; but that this was all the merit which I could promiſe to have: that if the court believed theſe profeſſions to be ſincere, a treaty with me was unneceſſary for them; and that if they did not believe them ſo, a treaty with them was dangerous for me: that I was determined in this whole tranſaction to make no one ſtep which I would not own in the face of the world; that in

other

other circumſtances it might be ſufficient to act honeſtly, but that in a caſe as extraordinary as mine, it was neceſſary to act clearly, and to leave no room for the leaſt doubtful conſtruction.

The Earl of Stair, as well as Mr. Craggs, who arrived ſoon after in France, came into my ſenſe. I have reaſon to believe, that the king has approved it likewiſe, upon their repreſentations, ſince he has been pleaſed to give me the moſt gracious aſſurances of his favour. What the effect of all this may be, in the next, or in any other ſeſſion, I know not; but this is the foot on which I have put myſelf, and on which I ſtand at the moment I write to you. The Whigs may continue inveterate, and by conſequence fruſtrate his Majeſty's good intentions towards me; the Tories may continue to rail at me, on the credit of ſuch enemies as I have deſcribed to you, in the courſe of this relation; neither the one nor the other ſhall make me ſwerve out of the path which I have traced to myſelf.

I have now led you through the ſeveral ſtages which I propoſed at firſt; and I ſhould do wrong to your good underſtanding, as well as to our mutual friendſhip, if I ſuſpected that you could hold any other language to me, than that which Dolabella uſes to Cicero: *Satisfactum eſt jam a fe, vel officio, vel familiaritati; ſatisfactum etiam partibus.* The King, who pardons me, might complain of me, the Whigs might declaim againſt me, my family might reproach me for the little regard which I have ſhown to my own, and to their intereſts; but where is the crime I have been guilty of towards my party, and towards my friends? In what

part of my conduct will the Tories find an excuſe for the treatment which they have given me? As Tories, ſuch as they were when I left England, I defy them to find any. But here lies the ſore, and, tender as it is, I muſt lay it open. Thoſe amongſt them, who rail at me now, are changed from what they were, or from what they profeſſed themſelves to be, when we lived and acted together. They were Tories then, they are Jacobites now. Their objections to the courſe of my conduct, whilſt I was in the Pretender's intereſt, are the pretence; the true reaſon of their anger is, that I renounce the Pretender for my life. When you were firſt driven into this intereſt, I may appeal to you for the notion which the party had. You thought of reſtoring him by the ſtrength of the Tories, and of oppoſing a Tory king to a Whig king. You took him up as the inſtrument of your revenge, and of your ambition. You looked on him as your creature, and never once doubted of making what terms you pleaſed with him. This is ſo true, that the ſame language is ſtill held to the catechumens in Jacobitiſm. Were the contrary to be avowed even now, the party in England would ſoon diminiſh. I engaged on this principle when your orders ſent me to Commercy, and I never acted on any other. This ought to have been part of my merit towards the Tories; and it would have been ſo if they had continued in the ſame diſpoſitions. But they are changed, and this very thing is become my crime. Inſtead of making the Pretender their tool, they are his. Inſtead of having in view to reſtore him on their own terms, they are labouring to do it without any terms; that is, to

ſpeak

ſpeak properly, they are ready to receive him on his. Be not deceived; there is not a man on this ſide of the water, who acts in any other manner. The Church-of-England Jacobite, and the Iriſh Papiſt, ſeem in every reſpect to have the ſame cauſe. Thoſe on your ſide of the water, who correſpond with theſe, are to be comprehended in the ſame claſs: and from hence it is, that the clamour raiſed againſt me has been kept up with ſo much induſtry, and is redoubled on the leaſt appearance of my return home, and of my being in a ſituation to juſtify myſelf.

You have ſeen already what reaſons the Pretender, and the ſeveral ſorts of people who compoſe his party here, had to get rid of me, and to cover me to the utmoſt of their power with infamy. Their views were as ſhort in this caſe, as they are in all others. They did not ſee, at firſt, that this conduct would not only give me a right, but put me under a neceſſity of keeping no farther meaſures with them, and of laying the whole myſtery of their iniquity open. As ſoon as they diſcovered this, they took the only courſe which was left them, that of poiſoning the minds of the Tories, and of creating ſuch prejudices againſt me whilſt I remained in a condition of not ſpeaking for myſelf, as will, they hope, prevent the effect of whatever I may ſay, when I am in a condition of pleading my own cauſe. The bare apprehenſion, that I ſhall ſhew the world that I have been guilty of no crime, renders me criminal among theſe men: and they hold themſelves ready, being unable to reply either

in point of fact or in point of reason, to drown my voice in the confusion of their clamour.

The only crimes I am guilty of I own. I own the crime of having been for the Pretender, in a very different manner from those with whom I acted. I served him as faithfully, I served him as well as they; but I served him on a different principle. I own the crime of having renounced him, and of being resolved never to have to do with him as long as I live. I own the crime of being determined sooner or later, as soon as I can, to clear myself of all the unjust aspersions which have been cast upon me; to undeceive, by my experience, as many as I can of those Tories who may have been drawn into error; and to contribute, if ever I return home, as far as I am able, to promote the national good of Britain, without any other regard. These crimes do not, I hope, by this time appear to you to be of a very black dye. You may come, perhaps, to think them virtues, when you have read and considered what remains to be said; for, before I conclude, it is necessary that I open one matter to you, which I could not weave in sooner, without breaking too much the thread of my narration. In this place, unmingled with any thing else, it will have, as it deserves to have, your whole attention.

Whoever composed that curious piece of false fact, false argument, false English, and false eloquence, the letter from Avignon, says, that I was not thought the most proper person to speak about religion. I confess I should be of his mind, and should include his patrons in my case, if the practice

tice of it was to be recommended: for ſurely it is unpardonable impudence, to impoſe by precept what we do not teach by example. I ſhould be of the ſame mind, if the nature of religion was to be explained, if its myſteries were to be fathomed, and if this great truth was to be eſtabliſhed, that the church of England has the advantage over all other churches in purity of doctrine, and in wiſdom of diſcipline. But nothing of this kind was neceſſary. This would have been the taſk of reverend and learned divines. We of the laity had nothing more to do, than to lay in our claim that we could never ſubmit to be governed by a prince who was not of the religion of our country. Such a declaration could hardly have failed of ſome effect towards opening the eyes, and diſpoſing the mind, even of the Pretender. At leaſt, in juſtice to ourſelves, and in juſtice to our party, we, who were here, ought to have made it; and the influence of it on the Pretender ought to have become the rule of our ſubſequent conduct.

In thinking in this manner, I think no otherwiſe now than I have always thought: and I cannot forget, nor you neither, what paſſed when, a little before the death of the queen, letters were conveyed from the Chevalier to ſeveral perſons, to myſelf among others. In the letter to me, the article of religion was ſo awkwardly handled, that he made the principal motive of the confidence we ought to have in him, to conſiſt in his firm reſolution to adhere to popery. The effect which this epiſtle had on me, was the ſame which it had on thoſe Tories

to whom I communicated it at that time; it made us reſolve to have nothing to do with him.

Some time after this, I was aſſured by ſeveral, and I make no doubt but others have been ſo too; that the Chevalier at the bottom was not a bigot: that whilſt he remained abroad, and could expect no ſuccour, either preſent or future, from any princes but thoſe of the Roman-catholic communion, it was prudent, whatever he might think, to make no demonſtration of a deſign to change: but that his temper was ſuch, and he was already ſo diſpoſed, that we might depend on his compliance with what ſhould be deſired of him, if ever he came amongſt us, and was taken from under the wing of the Queen his mother. To ſtrengthen this opinion of his character, it was ſaid that he had ſent for Mr. Leſly over; that he allowed him to celebrate the church of England ſervice in his family; and that he had promiſed to hear what this divine ſhould repreſent on the ſubject of religion to him. When I came abroad, the ſame things, and much more, were at firſt inſinuated to me; and I began to let them make impreſſion upon me, notwithſtanding what I had ſeen under his hand. I would willingly flatter myſelf, that this impreſſion diſpoſed me to incline to Jacobotiſm, rather than allow that the inclination to Jacobitiſm diſpoſed me eaſily to believe what, upon that principle, I had ſo much reaſon to wiſh might be true. Which was the cauſe, and which the effect, I cannot well determine: perhaps they did mutually occaſion each other. Thus much is certain, that I was far from weighing this matter as I ought to have done, when the ſolicitation of

my

my friends, and the perſecution of my enemies, precipitated me into engagements with the Pretender.

I was willing to take it for granted, that ſince you were as ready to declare, as I believed you at that time, you muſt have had entire ſatisfaction on the article of religion. I was ſoon undeceived; this ſtring had never been touched. My own obſervation, and the unanimous report of all thoſe who from his infancy have approached the Pretender's perſon, ſoon taught me how difficult it is to come to terms with him on this head, and how unſafe to embark without them.

His religion is not founded on the love of virtue, and the deteſtation of vice; on a ſenſe of that obedience which is due to the will of the Supreme Being; and a ſenſe of thoſe obligations which creatures, formed to live in a mutual dependance on one another, lie under. The ſpring of his whole conduct is fear. Fear of the horns of the devil, and of the flames of hell. He has been taught to believe, that nothing but a blind ſubmiſſion to the church of Rome, and a ſtrict adherence to all the terms of that communion, can ſave him from theſe dangers. He has all the ſuperſtition of a capuchin; but I found on him no tincture of the religion of a prince. Do not imagine that I looſe the reins to my imagination, or that I write what my reſentments dictate: I tell you ſimply my opinion. I have heard the ſame deſcription of his character made by thoſe who knew him beſt; and I converſed with very few among the Roman catholics themſelves, who did not think him too much a Papiſt.

Nothing

Nothing gave me, from the beginning, ſo much uneaſineſs as the conſideration of this part of his character, and of the little care which had been taken to correct it. A true turn had not been given to the firſt ſteps which were made with him. The Tories, who engaged afterwards, threw themſelves as it were at his head. He had been ſuffered to think, that the party in England wanted him, as much as he wanted them. There was no room to hope for much compliance on the head of religion, when he was in theſe ſentiments, and when he thought the Tories too far advanced to have it in their power to retreat: and little dependance was, at any time to be placed on the promiſes of a man capable of thinking his damnation attached to the obſervance, and his ſalvation to the breach of theſe very promiſes. Something, however, was to be done: and I thought that the leaſt which could be done, was to deal plainly with him, and to ſhew him the impoſſibility of governing our nation by any other expedient, than by complying with that which would be expected from him as to his religion. This was thought too much by the Duke of Ormond and Mr. Leſlie; although the Duke could be no more ignorant than the miniſter, how ill the latter had been uſed, how far the Chevalier had been from keeping the word which he had given, and on the faith of which Mr. Leſlie had come over to him. They both knew, that he not only refuſed to hear himſelf, but that he ſheltered the ignorance of his prieſts, or the badneſs of his cauſe, or both, behind his authority, and abſolutely forbid all diſcourſe concerning religion. The Duke ſeemed convinced,

vinced, that it would be time enough to talk of religion to him when he ſhould be reſtored, or, at ſooneſt, when he ſhould be landed in England; that, the influence under which he had lived being at a diſtance, the reaſonableneſs of what we might propoſe, joined to the apparent neceſſity which would then ſtare him in the face, could not fail to produce all the effects which we could deſire.

To me this whole reaſoning appeared fallacious. Our buſineſs was not to make him change appearances on this ſide of the water, but to prepare him to give thoſe which would be neceſſary on the other: and there was no room to hope, that if we could gain nothing on his prejudices here, we ſhould be able to overcome them in Britain. I would have argued juſt as the Duke of Ormond and Lollio, if I had been a Papiſt; and I ſaw well enough, that ſome people about him, for in a great dearth of ability there was cunning to be met with, affected nothing more than to keep off all diſcourſe of religion. To my apprehenſion it was exceeding plain, that we ſhould find, if we were once in England, the neceſſity of going forward at any rate with him, much greater than he would find that of complying with us. I thought it an unpardonable fault to have taken a formal engagement with him, when no previous ſatisfaction had been obtained on a point, at leaſt, as eſſential to our civil as to our religious rights; to the peace of the ſtate, as to the proſperity of the church: and I looked on this fault to be aggravated by every day's delay. Our ſilence was unfair, both to the Chevalier and to our friends in England. He was induced by it to believe, that

they

they would exact far leſs from him, than we knew they expected: and they were confirmed in an opinion of his docility, which we knew to be void of all foundation. The pretence of removing that influence, under which he had lived, was frivolous, and ſhould never have been urged to me, who ſaw plainly, that, according to the meaſures purſued by the very perſons who urged it, he muſt be environed in England by the ſame people that ſurrounded him here; and that the court of St. James's would be conſtituted, if ever he was reſtored, in the ſame manner as that of St. Germains was.

When the draught of a declaration, and other papers which were to be diſperſed in Great Britain, came to be ſettled, it appeared that my apprehenſion and diſtruſt were but too well founded. The Pretender took exception againſt ſeveral paſſages, and particularly againſt thoſe, wherein a direct promiſe of ſecuring the churches of England and Ireland was made. He was told, he ſaid, that he could not, in conſcience, make ſuch a promiſe; and, the debate being kept up a little while, he aſked me, with ſome warmth, why the Tories were ſo deſirous to have him, if they expected thoſe things from him which his religion did not allow? I left theſe draughts, by his order, with him, that he might conſider and amend them. I cannot ſay that he ſent them to the queen to be corrected by her confeſſor, and the reſt of her council: but I firmly believe it. Sure I am, that he took time ſufficient to do this, before he ſent them from Bar, where he then was, to Paris, whether I was returned. When they were digeſted in ſuch a manner as ſatisfied his caſuiſts,

caſuiſts, he made them be printed: and my name was put to the declaration, as if the original had been ſigned by me. I had hitherto ſubmitted my opinion to the judgement of others; but on this occaſion I took advice from myſelf. I declared to him, that I would not ſuffer my name to be at the bottom of this paper. All the copies which came to my hands I burnt, and another was printed off, without any counterſigning.

The whole tenor of the amendments was one continued inſtance of the groſſeſt bigotry: and the moſt material paſſages were turned with all the Jeſuitical prevarication imaginable. As much as it was his intereſt, at that time, to cultivate the reſpect which many of the Tories really had for the memory of the late queen, and which many others affected, as a farther mark of their oppoſition to the court, and to the Whig party; as much as it was his intereſt to weave the honour of her name into his cauſe, and to render her, even after her death, a party to the diſpute; he could not be prevailed upon to give her that character which her enemies allowed her, nor to make uſe of thoſe expreſſions, in ſpeaking of her, which, by the general manner of their application, are come to be little more than terms of reſpect, and words of form, proper in the ſtyle of public acts. For inſtance:

She was called in the original draught, "his "ſiſter of glorious and bleſſed memory." In that which he publiſhed, the epithet of "bleſſed" was left out. Her eminent juſtice, and her exemplary piety, were occaſionally mentioned. In lieu of which

which he ſubſtituted a flat, and, in this caſe, an invidious expreſſion, " her inclinations to juſtice."

Not content with declaring her neither juſt nor pious in this world, he did little leſs than declare her damned in the other, according to the charitable principles of the church of Rome.

" When it pleaſed Almighty God to take her to " himſelf," was the expreſſion uſed in ſpeaking of the death of the Queen. This he eraſed, and inſtead thereof inſerted theſe word: " When it " pleaſed Almighty God to put a period to her " life."

He graciouſly allowed the univerſities to be nurſeries of loyalty; but did not think that it became him to ſtyle them *nurſeries of religion*.

Since his father paſſes already for a ſaint, and ſince reports are encouraged of miracles which they ſuppoſe to be wrought at his tomb, he might have allowed his grandfather to paſs for a martyr: but he ſtruck out of the draught theſe words, " that " bleſſed martyr who died for his people," which were applied to King Charles the firſt, and would ſay nothing more of him than that " he fell a ſacri- " fice to rebellion."

In the clauſe which related to the churches of England and Ireland there was a plain and direct promiſe inſerted of " effectual proviſion for their " ſecurity; and for their re-eſtabliſhment in all " thoſe rights which belong to them." This clauſe was not ſuffered to ſtand, but another was formed, wherein all mention of the church of Ireland was omitted, and nothing was promiſed to the church of England but the ſecurity, and " re-eſtabliſhment

" of

" of all thoſe rights, privileges, immunities, and " poſſeſſions which belong to her," and wherein he had already promiſed, by his declaration of the twentieth of July, to ſecure and " protect all her " members."

I need make no comment on a proceeding ſo eaſy to be underſtood. The drift of theſe evaſions, and of this affected obſcurity is obvious enough, at leaſt it will appear ſo by the obſervations which remain to be made.

He was ſo afraid of admitting any words which might be conſtrued into a promiſe of his conſenting to thoſe things, which ſhould be found neceſſary for the preſent or future ſecurity of our conſtitution, that in a paragraph where he was made to ſay, that he thought himſelf obliged to be ſolicitous for the proſperity of the church of England, the word *proſperity* was expunged; and we were left by this mental reſervation to gueſs what he was ſolicitous for. It could not be for her proſperity; that he had expunged. It muſt therefore be for her deſtruction, which in his language would have been ſtyled, her converſion.

Another remarkable proof of the ſame kind is to be found towards the concluſion of the declaration. After having ſpoke of the peace and flouriſhing eſtate of the kingdom, he was made to expreſs his readineſs to concert with the two houſes ſuch further meaſures, as ſhould be thought neceſſary for ſecuring the ſame to future generations. The deſign of this paragraph you ſee. He and his council ſaw it too, and therefore the word *ſecuring* was

laid aſide, and the word *leaving* was inſerted in lieu of it.

One would imagine, that a declaration corrected in this manner might have been ſuffered to go abroad without any farther precaution. But theſe papers had been penned by Proteſtants; and who could anſwer that there might not be ſtill ground ſufficient from the tenor of them to inſiſt on every thing neceſſary for the ſecurity of that religion? The declaration of the twentieth of July had been penned by a prieſt of the Scots college, and the expreſſions had been meaſured ſo as to ſuit perfectly with the conduct which the Chevalier intended to hold; ſo as to leave room to diſtinguiſh him, upon future occaſions, with the help of a little pious ſophiſtry, out of all engagements which he ſeemed to take in it. This orthodox paper was therefore to accompany the heretical paper into the world, and no promiſe of moment was to ſtand in the latter, unleſs qualified by a reference to the former. Thus the church was to be ſecured in the rights, *&c.* which belong to her. How? No otherwiſe than according to the declaration of the month of July. And what does that promiſe? Security and protection to the members of this church in the enjoyment of their property. I make no doubt, but Bellarmine, if he had been the Chevalier's confeſſor, would have paſſed this paragraph thus amended. No engagement whatever taken in favour of the church of Ireland, and a happy diſtinction found between ſecuring that of England, and protecting her members. Many a uſeful project for the deſtruction of Heretics, and for accumulating power and riches to the

ſee

ſee of Rome, has been eſtabliſhed on a more ſlender foundation.

The ſame ſpirit reigns through the whole. Civil and religious rights are no otherwiſe to be confirmed, than in conformity to the declaration of July; nay the general pardon is reſtrained and limited to the terms preſcribed therein.

This is the account which I judged too important to be ommitted, and which I choſe to give you all together. I ſhall ſurely be juſtified at preſent in concluding, that the Tories are groſsly deluded in their opinion of this prince's character, or elſe that they ſacrifice all, which ought to be eſteemed precious and ſacred among men, to their paſſions. In both theſe caſes I remain ſtill a Tory, and am true to the party. In the firſt, I endeavour to undeceive you by an experience purchaſed at my expence, and for your ſakes: in the ſecond, I endeavour to prevail on you to revert to that principle from which we have deviated. You never intended, whilſt I lived amongſt you, the ruin of your country; and yet every ſtep, which you now make towards the reſtoration you are ſo fond of, is a ſtep towards this ruin. No man of ſenſe, well informed, can ever go into meaſures for it, unleſs he thinks himſelf and his country in ſuch deſperate circumſtances, that nothing is left them but to chuſe of two ruins that which they like beſt.

The exile of the Royal Family, under Cromwell's uſurpation, was the principal cauſe of all thoſe misfortunes, in which Britain has been involved, as well as of many of thoſe which have happened to

the reſt of Europe, during more than half a century.

The two brothers, Charles and James, became then infected with Popery to ſuch degrees, as their different characters admitted of. Charles had parts; and his good underſtanding ſerved as an antidote to repel the poiſon. James, the ſimpleſt man of his time, drank off the whole chalice. The poiſon met, in his compoſition, with all the fear, all the credulity, and all the obſtinacy of temper proper to increaſe it's virulence, and to ſtrengthen it's effect. The firſt had always a wrong bias upon him: he connived at the eſtabliſhment, and indirectly contributed to the growth of that power, which afterwards diſturbed the peace, and threatened the liberty of Europe ſo often; but he went no farther out of the way. The oppoſition of his parliaments, and his own reflections ſtopped him here. The prince and the people were indeed mutually jealous of one another, from whence much preſent diſorder flowed, and the foundation of future evils was laid: but his good and his bad principles combating ſtill together, he maintained, during a reign of more than twenty years, in ſome tolerable degree, the authority of the crown, and the flouriſhing eſtate of the nation. The laſt, drunk with ſuperſtitious and even enthuſiaſtic zeal, ran headlong into his own ruin whilſt he endeavoured to precipitate ours. His parliament and his people did all they could to ſave themſelves by winning him. But all was vain: he had no principle on which they could take hold. Even his good qualities worked againſt them, and his love of his country went halves with his bigotry. How he ſucceeded,

ſucceeded, we have heard from our fathers. The revolution of one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-eight ſaved the nation, and ruined the king.

Now the Pretender's education has rendered him infinitely leſs fit than his uncle, and at leaſt as unfit as his father, to be king of Great Britain. Add to this, that there is no reſource in his underſtanding. Men of the beſt ſenſe find it hard to overcome religious prejudices, which are of all the ſtrongeſt; but he is a ſlave to the weakeſt. The rod hangs like the ſword of Damocles over his head, and he trembles before his mother and his prieſt. What, in the name of God, can any member of the church of England promiſe himſelf from ſuch a character? Are we by another revolution to return into the ſame ſtate from which we were delivered by the firſt? Let us take example from the Roman Catholics, who act very reaſonably in refuſing to ſubmit to a Proteſtant prince. Henry the fourth had at leaſt as good a title to the crown of France, as the Pretender has to ours. His religion alone ſtood in his way, and he had never been king if he had not removed that obſtacle. Shall we ſubmit to a Popiſh prince, who will no more imitate Henry the fourth in changing his religion, than he will imitate thoſe ſhining qualities which rendered him the honeſteſt gentleman, the braveſt captain, and the greateſt prince of his age? Allow me to give a looſe to my pen for a moment on this ſubject. General benevolence, and univerſal charity ſeem to be eſtabliſhed in the goſpel as the diſtinguiſhing badges of Chriſtianity. How it happens I cannot tell; but ſo it is, that in all ages of the church the profeſſors

of Chriſtianity ſeem to have been animated by a quite contrary ſpirit. Whilſt they were thinly ſcattered over the world, tolerated in ſome places, but eſtabliſhed no where, their zeal often conſumed their charity. Paganiſm, at that time the religion by law eſtabliſhed, was inſulted by many of them; the ceremonies were diſturbed, the altars thrown down. As ſoon as by the favour of Conſtantine the numbers were increaſed, and the reins of government were put into their hands, they began to employ the ſecular arm, not only againſt different religions, but againſt different ſects which aroſe in their own religion. A man may boldly affirm, that more blood has been ſhed in the diſputes between chriſtian and chriſtian, than has ever been drawn from the whole body of them in the perſecutions of the heathen emperors, and in the conqueſts of the mahometan princes. From theſe they have received quarter, but never from one another. The Chriſtian religion is actually tolerated among the Mahometans, and the domes of churches and moſques ariſe in the ſame city. But it will be hard to find an example, where one ſect of Chriſtians has tolerated another which it was in their power to extirpate. They have gone farther in theſe later ages: what was practiſed formerly has been taught ſince. Perſecution has been reduced into ſyſtem, and the diſciples of the meek and humble Jeſus have avowed a tyranny, which the moſt barbarous conquerors never claimed. The wicked ſubtilty of caſuiſts has eſtabliſhed breach of faith with thoſe who differ from us, as a duty in oppoſition to faith; and murder itſelf has been made one of the means of ſalvation. I know very well

that

that the reformed churches have been far from going thoſe cruel lengths, which are authoriſed by the doctrine as well as example of that of Rome; tho' Calvin put a flaming ſword on the title of a French edition of his Inſtitute, with this motto, *Je ne ſuis point venu mettre la paix, mais l'epee:* but I know likewiſe, that the difference lies in the means, and not in the aim of their policy. The church of England, the moſt humane of all of them, would root out every other religion, if it was in her power. She would not hang and burn; her meaſures would be milder, and therefore, perhaps, more effectual.

Since then there is this inveterate rancour among Chriſtians, can any thing be more abſurd, than for thoſe of one perſuaſion to truſt the ſupreme power, or any part of it, to thoſe of another? Particularly, muſt it not be reputed madneſs in thoſe of our religion, to truſt themſelves in the hands of Roman Catholics? Muſt it not be reputed impudence in a Roman Catholic to expect that we ſhould? he, who looks upon us as heretics, as men in rebellion againſt a lawful, nay a divine authority, and whom it is therefore meritorious by all ſorts of ways to reduce to obedience. There are many, I know, amongſt them who think more generouſly, and whoſe morals are not corrupted by that which is called religion: but this is the ſpirit of the prieſthood, in whoſe ſcale that ſcrap of a parable, *Compel them to come in*, which they apply as they pleaſe, outweighs the whole decalogue. This will be the ſpirit of every man who is bigot enough to be under their direction: and ſo much is ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe.

During

During your laſt ſeſſion of parliament, it was expected that the Whigs would attempt to repeal the occaſional bill. The ſame jealouſy continues: there is, perhaps, foundation for it. Give me leave to aſk you, upon what principle we argued for making this law, and upon what principle you muſt argue againſt the repeal of it. I have mentioned the principle in the beginning of this diſcourſe. No man ought to be truſted with any ſhare of power under a government, who muſt, to act conſiſtently with himſelf, endeavour the deſtruction of that very government. Shall this propoſition paſs for true when it is applied to keep a Preſbyterian from being mayor of a corporation, and ſhall it become falſe, when it is applied to keep a Papiſt from being king? The propoſition is equally true in both caſes; but the argument drawn from it is juſt ſo much ſtronger in the latter, than in the former caſe, as the miſchiefs, which may reſult from the power and influence of a king, are greater than thoſe which can be wrought by a magiſtrate of the loweſt order. This ſeems to my apprehenſion to be *argumentum ad hominem*, and I do not ſee by what happy diſtinction a Jacobite Tory could elude the force of it.

It may be ſaid, and it has been urged to me, that if the Chevalier was reſtored, the knowledge of his character would be our ſecurity; *habet fœnum in cornu*: there would be no pretence for truſting him, and by conſequence it would be eaſy to put ſuch reſtrictions on the exerciſe of the regal power, as might hinder him from invading or ſapping our religion and liberty. But this I utterly deny. Experience has ſhewn us how ready men

are

are to court power and profit; and who can determine, how far either the Tories or the Whigs would comply, in order to ſecure to themſelves the enjoyment of all the places in the kingdom? Suppoſe however, that a majority of true Iſraelites ſhould be found, whom no temptation could oblige to bow the knee to Baal; in order to preſerve the government on one hand, muſt they not deſtroy it on the other? The neceſſary reſtrictions would in this caſe be ſo many, and ſo important, as to leave hardly the ſhadow of a monarchy, if he ſubmitted to them: and if he did not ſubmit to them, theſe patriots would have no reſource left but in rebellion. Thus, therefore, the affair would turn, if the Pretender was reſtored. We might, moſt probably, loſe our religion and liberty by the bigotry of the prince, and the corruption of the people. We ſhould have no chance of preſerving them, but by an entire change of the whole frame of our government, or by another revolution. What reaſonable man would voluntarily reduce himſelf to the neceſſity of making an option among ſuch melancholy alternatives?

The beſt which could be hoped for, were the Chevalier on the throne, would be, that a thread of favourable accidents, improved by the wiſdom and virtue of parliament, might keep off the evil day during his reign. But ſtill the fatal cauſe would be eſtabliſhed, it would be entailed upon us, and every man would be appriſed, that ſooner or later the fatal effect muſt follow. Conſider a little what a condition we ſhould be in, both with reſpect to our foreign intereſt, and our domeſtic quiet, whilſt the reprieve

reprieve laſted, whilſt the Chevalier or his ſucceſſors made no direct attack upon the conſtitution.

As to the firſt, it is true indeed, that princes and ſtates are friends or foes to one another, according as the motives of ambition drive them. Theſe are the firſt principles of union and diviſion amongſt them. The Proteſtant powers of Europe have joined, in our days, to ſupport and aggrandiſe the houſe of Auſtria, as they did, in the days of our forefathers, to defeat her deſigns, and to reduce her power; and the moſt Chriſtian King of France has more than once joined his councils, and his arms too, with the councils and arms of the moſt mahometan emperor of Conſtantinople. But ſtill there is, and there muſt continue, as long as the influence of the papal authority ſubſiſts in Europe, another general, permanent, and invariable diviſion of intereſts. The powers of earth, like thoſe of heaven, have two diſtinct motions. Each of them rolls in his own political orb, but each of them is hurried at the ſame time round the great vortex of his religion. If this general notion be juſt, apply it to the preſent caſe. Whilſt a Roman Catholic holds the rudder, how can we expect to be ſteered in our proper courſe? His political intereſt will certainly incline him to direct our firſt motion right; but his miſtaken religious intereſt will render him incapable of doing it ſteddily.

As to the laſt, our domeſtic quiet; even whilſt the Chevalier, and thoſe of his race concealed their game, we ſhould remain in the moſt unhappy ſtate which human nature is ſubject to, a ſtate of doubt and ſuſpenſe. Our preſervation would depend on making

making him the object of our eternal jealouſy, who, to render himſelf and his people happy, ought to be that of our entire confidence.

Whilſt the Pretender and his ſucceſſors forbore to attack the religion and liberty of the nation, we ſhould remain in the condition of thoſe people who labour under a broken conſtitution, or who carry about them ſome chronical diſtemper. They feel a little pain at every moment; or a certain uneaſineſs, which is ſometimes leſs tolerable than pain, hangs continually on them, and they languiſh in the conſtant expectation of dying perhaps in the ſevereſt torture.

But if the fear of hell ſhould diſſipate all other fears in the Pretender's mind, and carry him, which is frequently the effect of that paſſion, to the moſt deſperate undertakings; if among his ſucceſſors a man bold enough to make the attempt ſhould ariſe, the condition of the Britiſh nation would be ſtill more deplorable. The attempt ſucceeding, we ſhould fall into tyranny; for a change of religion could never be brought about by conſent; and the ſame force, that would be ſufficient to enſlave our conſciences, would be ſufficient for all the other purpoſes of arbitrary power. The attempt failing, we ſhould fall into anarchy; for there is no medium when diſputes between a prince and his people are arrived at a certain point; he muſt either be ſubmitted to, or depoſed.

I have now laid before you even more than I intended to have ſaid when I took my pen; and I am perſuaded, that if theſe papers ever come to your hands, they will enable you to caſt up the account

between

between party and me. Till the time of the queen's death it ſtands, I believe, even between us. The Tories diſtinguiſhed me by their approbation, and by the credit which I had amongſt them; and I endeavoured to diſtinguiſh myſelf in their ſervice, under the immediate weight of great diſcouragement, and with no very diſtant proſpect of great danger. Since that time the account is not ſo even, and I dare appeal to any impartial perſon, whether my ſide in it be that of the debtor. As to the opinion of mankind in general, and the judgement which poſterity will paſs on theſe matters, I am under no great concern. *Suum cuique decus poſteritas rependit,*

FROM

FROM THE

EARL OF STAIR,

His Majeſty's embaſſador at Paris,

TO

JAMES CRAGGS junior, Eſq.

Secret Letter *.

Monſieur,

VOUS avés vu par ma depêche l'état de la negociation. J'ai à preſent à vous parler, en particulier, de Bolingbroke.

Je l'ai vu chés moi le jour aprés l'arrivée de Mr. Pitt: et nous avons eu enſemble une converſation d'une heure et demie; dont la ſubſtance eſt, que lui, Bolingbroke, rentroit, du meilleur de ſon cœur, dans ſon devoir envers ſon roi et ſa patrie: et que rien au monde étoit capable de le détacher de cette

* This letter, which, with ſeveral more private and ſecret letters, had been returned to Lord Stair by his correſpondent, was communicated to the editor of theſe papers, ſome time ago, by a relation of his Lordſhip: and it is copied here, exactly, from the original in his own hand-writing.

reſolution, quand même ſa majeſté ne trouveroit pas à propos de lui faire grace. Qu'il étoit prêt, dès ce moment, à s'employer avec moi dans ce païs-ici pour le ſervice du roi, ſi je croyois qu'il y pouvoit être utile à quelque choſe; et qu'il me communiqueroit tout ce qui viendroit à ſa connoiſſance qui me pourroit être de quelque uſage, et qu'il m'aideroit volontiers de toutes les lumieres qu'il pourroit avoir acquiſes par ſes habitudes ici.

Il me dit, que je ſçavois bien, par ſon caractere, qu'il ne faiſoit pas les choſes à demi; qu'en rentrant en ſon devoir il ſe propoſoit de ſervir le roi et ſa patrie avec zèle et avec affection. Que pour cet effet, il ſe croiroit obligé, par toutes les obligations du devoir, de la reconnoiſſance, de l'honneur et de l'interêt même, d'informer le roi de tout ce que ſon experience lui pourroit ſuggérer d'utile pour le ſervice de ſa majeſté, pour l'affermiſſement de la tranquillité publique, et pour prévenir tous les projets qui ſe pourront former en faveur de ſes ennemis. Qu'il feroit tout ce qui dependroit de lui de faire rentrer les toris qui ont embraſſé le parti du prétendant dans leur devoir, en leur faiſant voir quelle eſpece d'homme le prétendant étoit; et qu'ils ſe trompoient s'ils croyoient qu'ils pourroient avoir de la ſûreté avec lui ou pour leur liberté ou pour leur religion. Que pour pouvoir faire cela, il étoit neceſſaire, même pour le ſervice du roi, que lui, Bolingbroke, ne fût pas perdu de reputation, qu'il ne paſsât pas pour délateur.

Il inſiſta beaucoup ſur cet article. " Ce que je " propoſe de faire, me dit-il, eſt digne d'un hon- " nête homme, convaincu de ſon erreur et touché

" d'un

" d'un vari répentir ; c'eſt ce que je ferai hautement et à la face de l'univers : et permettés-moi-
" d'ajouter, que c'eſt un ſervice réel que je rendrai
" au roi et à ma patrie. Mais de conſentir à tra-
" hir des particuliers, ou à réveler ce qui m'a été
" confié, ce ſeroit me deſhonnorer à jamais."

Je ne dois pas oublier à vous dire, qu'outre ſon éloignement pour le prétendant, il m'a temoigné beaucoup de dépit contre la France : et je ſuis sûr qu'il me parloit ſincerement.

Je ſerai bien-aiſe d'être inſtruit au plutôt touchant les intentions du roi à ſon égard, et de ce que je dois lui promettre au nom de ſa majeſté ; afin qu'il puiſſe être en état de ſe rétirer de ce païs-ici, où j'appréhende qu'il ne fait pas bon pour lui.

Pour moi ; je vous avoue franchement, que je crois qu'il m'a parlé dans la ſincérité de ſon cœur ; qu'il eſt reſolu de faire ſon mieux pour abattre le parti du prétendant, et pour le déraciner tout-a-fait ſi cela dependoit de lui : et il me paroit certain, qu'il n'y a perſonne qui puiſſe nuire au prétendant au point qu'il le peut faire,

A la fin de nôtre converſation, il me ſerra la main, et me dit : " Milord, ſi l'on me fait la juſtice de
" croire que mes profeſſions ſont ſinceres, plus ils
" menagent ma réputation, plus ils font le ſervice
" du roi. Si au contraire ils me ſoupçonnent de
" ne pas marcher droit, ils auront raiſon d'exiger
" de moi des conditions que j'aurai en même tems
" raiſon comme un honnête homme, de refuſer. Les
" difficultés que je fais de promettre trop, peuvent
" ſervir de garans que je tiendrai ce à quoi je

" m'engage. En tout cas, le tems et ma conduite " uniforme convaincront tout le monde de la droi- " ture de mes intentions: et il vaut mieux atten- " dre ce tems avec patience, quelque long qu'il " puiſſe être, que d'arriver avec precipitation à ſon " but en ſortant du grand chemin de l'honneur et " de la probité."

SOME
REFLECTIONS
ON THE
Preſent STATE of the NATION,

Principally with regard to her

TAXES AND HER DEBTS;

AND ON THE

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THEM.

Mihi autem non minori curæ eſt qualis reſpublica poſt mortem meam futura ſit, quam qualis hodie ſit.

Cic. in Lael.

SOME

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

PRESENT STATE OF THE NATION,

Principally with regard to her TAXES and her DEBTS; and on the Cauſes and Conſequences of them.

SINCE we are got out of a war, the leaſt ſucceſsful, and the moſt expenſive, that this nation ever made; after having taken part, threeſcore years together, like principal actors, in all the other wars, and all the negotiations, of the continent: it is time, ſurely, that we recal our attention homewards, and conſider the preſent ſtate of our own country, particularly with reſpect to her taxes and her debts; to the nature and application of the former, to the riſe and progreſs of the latter, to the neceſſity, and to the means, of diminiſhing both.

The revolution of our government in 1688, makes a moſt remarkable æra in the hiſtory of Britain, on many accounts, and on none more than on that which is the ſubject of theſe papers. The

public

public revenue, in neat money, amounted, at that time, to no more than two millions annually; which were ſufficient to defray the ordinary expences of the crown, as well as to maintain a fleet, and a greater army than was neceſſary for the defence of the country at that time. This revenue was raiſed without any tax on land or malt, and by a very few of thoſe innumerable duties which have been ſince laid, to the oppreſſion of the landed and mercantile intereſt of the nation. Theſe duties have been ſo mortgaged too, that we are unable, at this time, to ſend a cock-boat to ſea, or to keep a ſingle centinel at Whitehall gate, without a land-tax.

The public debts, that of the bankers included, amounted to little more than three hundred thouſand pounds, at the beginning of this æra. They amount now to fourſcore millions. To diſcover how this great change in our national circumſtances has been brought about, is ſurely an object of reaſonable, and may be ſuch of uſeful, curioſity.

King William engaged in a neceſſary war with France, as ſoon as he came to the throne. It was neceſſary that he ſhould maintain the revolution he had made, and aſſert his right to the crown he had acquired by the beſt of all titles, the free gift of a people whom he had delivered from impending deſtruction, from popery and ſlavery. This war might be thought neceſſary too in another reſpect.

From the treaty of Weſtphalia, and from the Pyrenean to the acceſſion of King William to our throne, the power and ambition of France had grown up together, and were become exorbitant. No efforts had been made ſufficient to reduce, ſcarce

any

any ſufficient to reſiſt, the former. No meaſures had been concerted, no preparations had been made, to diſappoint the latter in that great object, the acquiſition of the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Bourbon. From the revolution this alarm was taken, which ſhould have been taken ſooner. The ſpirit of our court was changed, the eyes of our people were opened, and all men ſaw how neceſſary it was to preſerve, in concert with the Spaniards, the ſucceſſion of their monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, inſtead of ſuffering it to fall into that of Bourbon, which was excluded from it by the moſt ſolemn engagements.

Queen Anne came to the throne at the eve of another great war, of a war againſt France and Spain, which her predeceſſor was ready to undertake, though he had not actually declared it when he died, in order to procure ſome reaſonable ſatisfaction to the emperor for a ſucceſſion, which had been then loſt to his family by his own fault.

King William, who engaged for ſo much more in the firſt grand alliance, would engage for no more than this in the ſecond. But the private intereſt of her miniſters, the intrigues of her allies, and the raſhneſs of a party, drew the Queen much further: and it muſt be confeſſed, that a ſubſerviency to the court of Vienna, which has coſt us ſo dear, began in her time, not in King William's, though her heart was, what ſhe declared it to be, entirely Engliſh, and though he was cenſured, I think very unjuſtly, for too great regard to foreign intereſts, and too little for thoſe of Britain.

The

The war King William waged was not very ſucceſsful: and yet, if the Emperor would have conſented to ſend his ſecond ſon into Spain, during the life of Charles the ſecond, King William would have ſucceeded in both the objects of this war. He had maintained himſelf on the throne, and had obliged France to promiſe, that ſhe would not diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of it. As to the other object, no treaties of partition would have been thought neceſſary by him in that caſe; neither would this nation have had any thing more to do, when the Spaniſh ſucceſſion was open, than to ſupport, with the concurrence of that whole nation, an Auſtrian prince, who was actually on the ſpot with an Auſtrian army, and who had been already declared preſumptive heir. Thus we might have had a defenſive war to make, with great advantages on our ſide; and the events of the offenſive war, which we were obliged to make afterwards, ſhew ſufficiently what would have been the ſucceſs of the other. The councils of Vienna laid us wantonly, if I may ſay ſo, under great diſadvantages; and King William therefore reſolved, like a wiſe prince, to expoſe neither this country, nor his own, to the hard taſk of recovering the whole Spaniſh monarchy out of the hands of Philip. He accommodated his ſyſtem to the circumſtances of the time; and aimed at no more now, than to force the French and Spaniards to come into ſome compoſition about the Auſtrian pretenſions, about trade, about barriers, and about effectual means to hinder a future union of France and Spain under one monarch.

This

This was all that he meaned. But they who delighted in war, becauſe they hoped to get immenſely by it, and they who amuſed themſelves and others with vain ſpeculations, about a thing very real in itſelf, about a balance of power, enſnared both England and Holland into engagements for dethroning Philip, and ſetting up Charles in his room, though we had acknowledged the former, though the Caſtilians were ſtrongly attached to him, and though he was in quiet poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh dominions in both hemiſpheres. Flattered by groundleſs hopes of a revolution, in favour of his rival, and flushed by the firſt ſucceſs of our arms, this precipitate engagement was approved and ſupported by us, notwithſtanding the abſurd conduct of the Emperor, and the wiſe reſerve of King William; both of which ſhould have put us more on our guard, and have made us leſs ſanguine.

It is perhaps worth while to make an obſervation in this place, which was made at the time we ſpeak of by Spaniards, who acknowledged Philip the fifth in compliance with the will of Charles the ſecond, and yet were averſe to the influence and authority which France aſſumed over them. They obſerved, that Cromwell had forced them to give their Infanta to Lewis the fourteenth, by joining his arms with thoſe of France againſt them, and that we went about to force them, half a century afterwards, by a new war, to an abſolute dependance on France.

The court of Vienna, deſirous to acquire the Italian dominions, and too indifferent about Spain and the Weſt-Indies, made her profit of our rathneſs. She left the whole weight of the war on England

England and Holland. She did worſe. She not only neglected the war by contributing little or nothing to it, except the name of Auſtria and the claims of that family; ſhe ſacrificed the ſucceſs of the common cauſe, for ſo it was called improperly enough by her, whenever any little inferior intereſt, that ſeemed to be hers more immediately, came in the way: by which ſhe not only prolonged the war, but increaſed the annual expence of it to England and Holland, without taking any ſhare in this expence on herſelf, that deſerves to be mentioned.

Experience was loſt upon us. Our political delirium continued. It grew in ſome ſort habitual by the artifice employed at home, and by the victories obtained abroad. The war languiſhed however upon the whole, notwithſtanding our utmoſt efforts; the weight of Auſtria grew every year heavier on us, whilſt that of Spain grew every year lighter on France; the Spaniards were able to defend themſelves againſt us at laſt, and the ſucceſs of our enemies in Spain made them amends for our victories in Flanders.

The dethronement of Philip in favour of Charles, was become evidently a chimerical project in the year 1710, at the lateſt, and it became in the following year ſo ineligible, by the death of the Emperor Joſeph, to whom his younger brother Charles ſucceeded, that one cannot conceive the men who clamoured for it, even then, to have been in earneſt; ſince their aim, in that caſe, muſt have been to ſet the Imperial and Spaniſh crowns on the ſame head, againſt the common intereſt of Europe, and the fundamental principle of the war.

But

But though we could not conquer Spain by a war, we might have reduced the exorbitant power of France by a peace. We might have ſtripped her of that barrier wherein this exorbitant power conſiſted chiefly; as every man who knew what he meaned, when he talked of this exorbitant power, muſt have intended. We might have laid her as open to the incurſions of her neighbours, as her neighbours were to hers; as open as ſhe had been when a prince Caſimir, or any other general of Reitres, could penetrate without a ſiege, and ſometimes without a battle, into the heart of her provinces.

But we would not do the latter, becauſe we could not do the former. We acted like men who thought, that the exorbitant power of one family could not be reduced, unleſs a power as exorbitant was raiſed in another; and who never looked back to preceeding centuries, to conſider the uſurpations, the tyranny, and the bigotry, that the houſe of Auſtria had exerciſed, in the fullneſs of her power, and would exerciſe again, if ſhe was ever reſtored to the ſame.

We were diſappointed in our great political views, after two wars that had laſted twenty-five years, with a very ſhort interval between them. We had done our utmoſt to defeat that ſcheme of ambition France had opened to herſelf, and of danger to all her neighbours, by the Pyrenean treaty; and, though this danger affected us leſs than any other nation engaged in the alliance, we had exhauſted ourſelves to maintain it.

When King William entered, immediately after the revolution, on this great ſcene of action, the

unincumbered condition of this nation, which has been hinted at above, was ſuch, that he might have been ſupported in it, by good management, as profuſely as he was, and even more effectually, by the revenue then ſubſiſting, by a land-tax, by the exciſe on malt, and by ſome additional ſubſidies, all of which would have been raiſed within the year. A ſcheme of this kind was prepared and offered. It was allowed to be practicable: but it was rejected for a reaſon that appeared plauſible in political refinement, and has proved moſt pernicious in its conſequences. It was ſaid, that a new government, eſtabliſhed againſt the ancient principles, and actual engagements of many, could not be ſo effectually ſecured any way, as it would be if the private fortunes of great numbers were made to depend on the preſervation of it; and that this could not be done unleſs they were induced to lend their money to the public, and to accept ſecurities under the preſent eſtabliſhment. Thus the method of funding, and the trade of ſtock-jobbing began. Thus were great companies created, the pretended ſervants, but, in many reſpects, the real maſters of every adminiſtration.

I do not pretend to determine how far the wiſdom of our legiſlature might have provided, at the beginning of the new war, againſt the growth and ſpreading of that cancerous humour, which had begun to gnaw our vitals in the former. All I am to obſerve is, that, a monied intereſt, being firmly eſtabliſhed by this time, and ſuch numbers being accuſtomed to make immenſe profit at the public expence, there is no room to wonder if we proceeded

on

on the ſame plan during the reign of Queen Anne. We did ſo: and the debts contracted in this war being added to thoſe of the former, the whole of our debt amounted to little leſs than fifty millions.

Having accumulated ſo immenſe a debt, the Queen put an end to the war. She could not attempt to alter the ſyſtem of it whilſt it continued, without throwing the whole alliance into confuſion, after ſome of the principal allies had declared, on the death of Joſeph, that they would not conſent Charles ſhould be King of Spain as well as Emperor.

The intereſt of Britain required, no doubt, that we ſhould turn our eyes from the continent to our own iſland, and that we ſhould improve the opportunity and the advantages which a peace gave us. Whatever prejudices have been propagated induſtriouſly againſt that of Utrecht, thus much at leaſt is certain: we were obliged no longer, by treaties, to aſſume any other part in the affairs of the continent, than that which the immediate intereſt of our own country required. The opportunity and the means of diminiſhing taxes, reviving commerce, and paying debts, were open to us.

This pacific ſcheme ought to have been purſued, no doubt, till we had retrieved our affairs, and recovered our former ſtrength in ſome degree, and till we were prepared to take any part in future events, which our honour or intereſt might require. Nay, this ſcheme was the more neceſſary to be purſued; if France was left too powerful, no matter by whoſe fault, as I am ready to admit that ſhe was; and if the two branches of Bourbon were to be

looked upon, in this century, like the two branches of Auſtria in the laſt, as inſeparable allies, united by blood and by joint ambition. It was the more eaſy to be purſued too, becauſe a long minority was beginning in France, and many other circumſtances of characters and of ſituation, extremely favourable to it, concurred in that court and country.

This ſhould have been the ſcheme of our policy; but unhappily it was not. The late King, as elector of Hanover, had reaſon, no doubt, to deſire the acquiſition of Bremen and Verden. Our nation contributed to it with her money, and forced it with her arms; though it was made in contradiction to the engagements that the crown of England had taken, when King William gave his guaranty to the treaty of Travendahl. This acquiſition became the firſt link of a political chain, by which we were dragged back into new and expenſive broils, the conſequences whereof we feel at this hour.

When the King acquired theſe dutchies, it became neceſſary to procure the inveſtiture of them: and I will ſay, becauſe I can demonſtrate, that theſe inveſtitures might have been procured, and the Emperor flattered with the acquiſition of Sicily, by meaſures as effectual, and much more conſiſtent with former treaties and the public tranquillity, than thoſe that were taken. The houſe of Auſtria ſacrificed the ſucceſs of the war to the immediate acquiſition of Naples. We ſacrificed all the advantages of the peace, to procure her that of Sicily in the manner we did procure it. I have heard it ſaid, whilſt theſe affairs were in tranſaction, that the

the treaty of quadruple alliance would compleat that of Utrecht. But the event has ſhewn, and it was obvious to foreſee, that one of theſe treaties would unravel the ſyſtem of the other. If we had maintained the neutrality of Italy, as we were obliged to do by treaty, even indulging the Emperor in the acquiſition of Italy, and yielding to the houſe of Savoy the eventual ſucceſſions, which we ſtipulated ſhould be given to Spain; the intention of the treaty of Utrecht would have been preſerved, and France, by concurring in theſe meaſures, would have ſhewn her ſincerity in maintaining the ſettlement of Europe. But when ſhe became a party to the quadruple alliance, ſhe meaned nothing more than to give the Spaniſh branch of Bourbon an opportunity of reannexing to that crown the Italian dominions: and we were groſsly her bubbles, when we triumphed that ſhe entered into the quadruple alliance, and made a ſham war to oblige Philip to accede to it.

As long, then, as there were hopes of obtaining an extraordinary inveſtiture of Bremen and Verden, we flattered the Emperor at no ſmall expence. As ſoon as it became apparent that this inveſtiture could be obtained in no other manner than it had been granted formerly, we inſulted him. We imputed to him deſigns he has conſtantly diſowned, and we have never proved; after which we complained of his ingratitude, we threatened war, and we prepared for it by maintaining, with great profuſion, a ſtanding army of Heſſians in Germany. The ſame men, who complained ſo lately that France had been left too powerful by the treaty of Utrecht, and that

great danger would arise from her close connection with Spain, complained now of the too great power of the house of Austria, and of the danger that would arise from a good understanding between the Emperor and King Philip. In short, our politics were not only variable, but incomprehensible, to every man who knew the state and interest of Great Britain, but was not so well apprised of the several turns of interest which were to be served abroad.

When our ministers had once departed from the straight line of British policy, the difficulty of returning to it became every year greater, and the inclination every year less. We continued busy and bustling in every court of Europe. We negotiated against the Emperor in concert with France, and gave her thereby the means of regaining more of that credit and influence in the empire, which she had formerly had, than she could have acquired without our assistance. We contrived to make peace abroad, almost as chargeable to us as war. Abuses of every kind were suffered at home. Trade was neither eased nor encouraged; and the gradual payment of our debt was utterly neglected, by a minister rather desirous to keep his country under this oppression, than ignorant of the means to deliver her from it. Whilst we acted in this manner, France grew frugal, she made the debts she could not pay sit more lightly on her, she raised her credit, and she extended her commerce. In short, her strength increased, and ours diminished. We were reduced to a state of weakness we had never felt before; and this very weakness was urged as a reason for bearing tamely the losses our merchants sustained

ſuſtained, and all the affronts our government received, leſt we ſhould be drawn into a war by uſing reprisals, the common right of nations.

As tame as we were, the inſolence of the Spaniards, the reaſonable impatience of our merchants, and this very tameneſs of our government, made a ſea-war unavoidable, juſt before the death of the Emperor Charles the ſixth; which event brought the principal powers of Europe into the field, ſet the whole continent into a flame, and formed one of thoſe conjunctures, wherein our honour and intereſt may oblige us to take a part, and for which therefore we ſhould always be prepared.

We were in no degree ſo prepared, after ſix or ſeven and twenty years of peace: and yet when we took a part, we took the moſt laviſh and the moſt impolitic that we could take. It was a miſerable part by ſea at firſt, and through the whole courſe of the war by land. I ſhall recall neither what we did, nor what we neglected to do; and I wiſh, for the honour of my country, that the whole may be buried in oblivion. Thus much only it is to my purpoſe to obſerve. Firſt, that our councils ſeemed to be the echoes of thoſe free-booters, Trenck and Mentzel, who talked of nothing leſs than conquering the two Alſatias and the three biſhoprics, and of laying Champagne waſte, whilſt all our offenſive projects on the Rhine were daily diſappointed: and, ſecondly, that we declined all overtures of peace, when the ſeat of the war was transferred, with great advantage to France, from Germany to the Netherlands, where we reſolved to wage it, whether the Dutch would or no, and where we were beat on every

ſpot

ſpot on which my Lord Marlborough had conquered.

Every defeat in this war, like every triumph in the laſt, became a reaſon for continuing it: and this management, when no avowable reaſon could be given for it, gave ſuſpicious and refining perſons occaſion to throw out a great deal of ſlander; for ſuch, I hope, it was. In ſhort, whatever the reaſons were, we continued this inauſpicious war ſo long, and we puſhed it ſo far beyond our ſtrength, that we were within a few months of bankruptcy, when the French granted us, miraculouſly, the ſame terms that they would have granted two or three years before; and when they might have marched, without much trouble or oppoſition, after taking Maeſtricht, into the heart of the Seven Provinces: for our laſt reſource, a Muſcovite army, was too far off to have enabled ours to make a ſtand.

By making the war in the Low Countries, almoſt wholly at our own expence, and without any proſpect of ſucceſs, we meaned to cauſe ſuch a diverſion to the forces of France, as might leave Germany nothing to fear on the Rhine, and as might give time and opportunity to the Empreſs queen to drive the French and Spaniards out of Lombardy. We ſacrificed ourſelves for theſe purpoſes; but in this war, as in the laſt, the court of Vienna ſacrificed nothing. From the time the French had been obliged, more by the ſickneſs of their troops, and the ill conduct of their generals, than by the force of her arms, to abandon Germany, the Empreſs-queen ſeemed to make war juſt as it ſuited her conveniency, to ſave all the expence ſhe could in the

Nether-

Netherlands, to plunder all ſhe could in Italy, and to make us pay the whole immenſe ſubſidies which we gave her for both.

In the Netherlands we were outnumbered vaſtly, by the deficiencies of her quotas: and in Italy, where we had thrown the Genoeſe into the arms of France and Spain, with great and juſt indignation againſt us for the treaty we had made at Worms, and had, however, obliged them to ſubmit after the battle of Placentia; we loſt the whole advantage of it by the inſatiable avarice and extreme brutality of the Auſtrians. Yet we continued our efforts on that ſide ſtill; and the ſham ſiege of Genoa, for it was no more, and the harmleſs invaſions of Provence and Dauphiny, had no other meaning, than to amuſe and impoſe on us in the exceſs of our zeal.

Our expences in every part of this ſtrange war, particularly in the Netherlands, were made without meaſure, becauſe without controul; as they will be ſoon convinced who look into the artillery, forage, hoſpital, and other contingent accounts. The parliamentary aids from the year 1740 excluſively, to the year 1748 incluſively, amount to fifty-five millions, five hundred twenty-two thouſand, nine hundred fifty-nine pounds, ſixteen ſhillings and three-pence, and the new debt we have contracted to more than thirty millions; which are near twenty millions more of debt than France has contracted in the ſame time: a ſum that will appear incredible to future generations, and is ſo almoſt to the preſent. There are three reflections to be made on this ſtate, which muſt add to our aſtoniſhment.

First,

First, that the greateſt part of this vaſt expence has been granted on account of the war, chiefly ſince there remained no reaſon for continuing it; that is, ſince the time when it was in our power to have a peace at leaſt as good as that we have now obtained; and I place this æra no higher than the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty ſeven inclusively, though I might place it higher, perhaps, on very good grounds. Secondly, that the debt contracted in it exceeds by much that of King William's, or that of Queen Anne's war; though both of them were much longer, and the laſt not only more widely ſpread, but carried into countries, the diſtance of which and many other circumſtances increaſed every article of our expence extraordinarily. Thirdly, that we have thrown, by our negotiations and by the late war, into the hands of the houſe of Bourbon, much more dominion in Italy, than would have induced the French at Gertruydenberg to have recalled Philip, and to have given up Spain and the Indies; which they were ready to do at thoſe conferences, as Buys and Vanderduſſen acquainted the miniſters of the allies, in making one of their reports to that aſſembly.

Bad as our condition is, let us not deſpair. Not to deſpair of the commonwealth, whatever her condition be, is the principle of a true patriot, that is, of a faithful ſervant to his prince and country: and we may find an example to this purpoſe, which deſerves to be quoted, in a book that is in the hands of moſt people, and that, I hope, is not unread at court, I mean the Duke of Sully's Memoirs. In them we find that Henry the fourth turned his whole

application

application to every thing that might be uſeful or even convenient to his kingdom, without ſuffering things that happened out of it to paſs unobſerved by him, as ſoon as he had put an end to the civil wars of France, and had concluded peace with Spain at Vervins. Is there a man, either prince or ſubject, who can read, without the moſt elevated and the moſt tender ſentiments, the language he held to Sully at this time, when he thought himſelf dying of a great illneſs he had at Montceaux? "My "friend!" ſaid he, "I have no fear of death. "You, who have ſeen me expoſe my life ſo often, "when I might ſo eaſily have kept out of danger, "know this better than any man. But I muſt "confeſs that I am unwilling to die, before I have "raiſed this kingdom to the ſplendour I have pro- "poſed to myſelf; and before I have ſhewn my "people that I love them like my children, by diſ- "charging them from a part of the taxes that have "been laid on them, and by governing them with "gentleneſs."

The ſtate of France was then even worſe than the ſtate of Great Britain is now: the debts as heavy, many of the provinces entirely exhauſted, and none of them in a condition of bearing any new impoſition. The ſtanding revenues brought into the king's coffers no more than thirty millions though an hundred and fifty millions were raiſed on the people: ſo great were the abuſes of that government in raiſing of money: and they were not leſs in the diſpenſation of it. The whole ſcheme of the adminiſtration was a ſcheme of fraud, and all who ſerved, cheated the public, from the high-

eſt

eſt offices down to the loweſt; from the commiſſioners * of the treaſury down to the under-farmers and the under-treaſurers. Sully beheld this ſtate of things, when he came to have the ſole ſuperintendency of affairs, with horror. He was ready to deſpair: but he did not deſpair. Zeal for his maſter, zeal for his country, and this very ſtate ſeemingly ſo deſperate, animated his endeavours: and the nobleſt thought, that ever entered into the mind of a miniſter, entered into his. He reſolved to make, and he made, the reformation of abuſes, the reduction of expences, and a frugal management, the ſinking fund for the payment of national debts, and the ſufficient fund for all the great things he intended to do, without overcharging the people.

He ſucceeded in all. The people were immediately eaſed, trade revived, the king's coffers were filled, a maritime power was created, and every thing neceſſary was prepared to put the nation in a condition of executing great deſigns whenever great conjunctures ſhould offer themſelves. Such was the effect of twelve years of wiſe and honeſt adminiſtration: and this effect would have ſhewed itſelf in great enterpriſes againſt the houſe of Auſtria, more formidable in thoſe days than the houſe of Bourbon has been in ours, if Henry the fourth had not been ſtabbed by one of thoſe aſſaſſins, into whoſe hands the intereſt of this houſe, and the frenzy of religion, had put the dagger more than once.

When we conſider, in theſe memorials, and in others which are come down to us, the deplorable

* Conſeilliers dans le conſeil des finances.

condition

condition to which France was reduced at the end of the ſixteenth century, we feel ſome of that horror which Sully himſelf felt; and are ready to confeſs, that the ruin of that kingdom, bankruptcy, and confuſion, muſt have followed, if the opportunity, which this peaceful conjuncture gave, had not been improved immediately, and as wiſely, and as vigorouſly as it was. Shall we not ſee our own deplorable condition, and the neceſſary conſequences of it, in the ſame light? Shall we not be much more ſtrongly affected by them? Are we not as near to bankruptcy, as the French nation was at that time, and much more ſo than they are at this time? May not confuſion follow it here, as well as there? And finally, may not the joint ambition of two branches of Bourbon, in ſome future conjuncture, produce effects as fatal, and much more ſo to us, if we continue in our preſent ſtate of impotence till ſuch a conjuncture happens, as were to be feared by France, at the time we ſpeak of, from the joint ambition of two branches of Auſtria? In ſhort, we have much to apprehend, unleſs we have the courage and the virtue to probe our domeſtic wounds to the bottom, and to apply immediately not palliative, but the moſt ſpecific remedies. If we do this; inſtead of fearing others, we may become once more formidable ourſelves. But this is certain, that they, who get firſt out of a diſtreſs common to us and to our neighbours, will give the law to the reſt.

It may be ſaid, that we have no Sullys among us. I ſhall not take on me to determine whether we have or no. But I will venture to ſay, after Sully himſelf,

himſelf, that although good princes may be wanting to good miniſters; yet good miniſters will never be wanting to a prince, who has diſcernment enough to find them, who chuſes them for their ſuperiour parts, experience, and integrity; and who reſolves to ſupport them, as Henry the fourth ſupported Sully, againſt favourite miſtreſſes, the cabals of the court, and the factions of the ſtate.

It may be ſaid again, that a king of France has power enough by the conſtitution of that government to ſupport a miniſter who checks corruption, reforms abuſes, and maintains a frugal management of the public revenue. But it may be aſked, how a miniſter, who ſhould undertake this, could be ſupported in a government like ours, where he would be ſure to have for his enemies all thoſe, who have ſhared ſo long the public ſpoils, or who hope to ſhare them, and where theſe enemies would have the means and opportunities of ſupplanting him, notwithſtanding the protection of his maſter? I anſwer, by the parliament. How many miniſters have there been, to whom much national miſchief was imputed juſtly, and no one national good could be aſcribed, and who were long ſupported by the favour of the crown, and by the concurrence of the two houſes, which this favour and their own management procured them? Shall theſe ſupports be ſufficient for a wicked or a weak miniſter; and ſhall innocence and ability, with the ſame favour and better management, be reckoned for nothing? I cannot think ſo ill, even of the preſent age, as degenerate as it is. It is degenerate no doubt;

doubt: but I have heard men complain of this degeneracy, who promoted it firſt, and ſought their excuſe in it afterwards.

The delegated power of a miniſter, under the legal prerogatives of the crown, is ſufficient to carry on a ſyſtem of reformation and frugality in the ordinary courſe of things, if the miniſter really intends it: and whenever extraordinary powers are wanting for extraordinary operations, as they muſt be in ſuch a ſtate as ours, they will be effectual, if granted; and if refuſed, they who refuſe them, not the miniſter, will ſuffer by the refuſal, and be anſwerable to the nation for it. The moneyed man may continue to enjoy a little more revenue by this refuſal: but his fortune will be more precarious, and more liable to ſome future reverſe. The merchant will continue to trade, the landed man to plow and ſow, without even a proſpect of being relieved from their ſervitude, not for the honeſt creditors alone, but for uſurers and ſtock-jobbers, for thoſe leeches who fill themſelves continually with the blood of the nation, and never ceaſe to ſuck it. The nation in the mean time will be reduced to the utmoſt poverty: and it behoves thoſe particularly, who have brought us ſo near it, to ſhew that this was not their object, by concurring zealouſly with thoſe, who have uſed, and will continue to uſe their beſt endeavours to prevent it.

The difficulties we have to ſtruggle with would not be ſo great as they are, notwithſtanding the immenſe profuſion to which the late war gave occaſion and pretence; if we did not feel in this inſtance, as we feel in others, the fatal conſequences of a pre-

cedent adminiſtration. The payment of our debts might have been eaſily provided for in that time: nay, fourteen years, which are little more than two thirds of it, would have been ſufficient to reduce them to twenty millions. If this had been done, the memory of the perſon, who was at the head of that adminiſtration, and had the ſole power of it, might have deſerved honour.

Let us nouriſh in ourſelves, and cultivate in others, ſentiments more elevated than theſe, and more worthy of the Britiſh genius. The greater our national diſtreſs and danger are, the greater ſhould the efforts be of every particular man to relieve his country from the one, and thereby to guard it againſt the other. We are in a criſis that muſt turn either to life or death, and that cannot turn to the former unleſs remedies are applied much more effectual than thoſe of mountebanks, who find their account in palliating evils and in prolonging diſeaſes. To palliate and to prolong would be, in our caſe, to kill, or to do ſomething worſe than kill, to break our conſtitution entirely, to render an accidental illneſs habitual and incurable.

One or two ſhillings in the pound, it is ſaid, will be leſſened this year upon land; and whatever is wanting for the current ſervice, over and above the two ſhillings that remain, and the malt will be borrowed on the credit of the ſinking-fund at three *per cent.* The bait will be tempting; for ſo muſt every diminution of taxes be to thoſe who have crouched ſo long under the weight of ſo many. But I may venture to ſay, that it will be no more than a bait; and that they, who ſwallow it, will have

reaſon

reaſon to repent of their raſhneſs, when they find, as they will find very probably, that the natural effect of ſuch meaſures muſt prevent the diſcharge of any conſiderable part of our debt, except in a term of years much longer than the proſperity and even the ſafety of our government admits.

I ſay the ſafety, as well as the proſperity: and ſome reflections very plain and obvious, though made by few, will juſtify me for ſaying ſo. As to the firſt, trade gave us wealth, wealth gave us power, and power raiſed our iſland to be, at one time, a match for France. If we deſire to return into the ſame ſtate, we muſt return by the ſame ſteps which raiſed us to it: and he, who ſhould make a ſcheme for the payment of our debts, without a principal regard to the improvement of our trade, would make a very ſilly ſcheme. But it would be juſt as ſilly, to make a ſcheme for both in ſuch a manner, as would render neither practicable.

The neceſſity of diminiſhing taxes, in order to improve our trade, becomes a good reaſon, not for the ſtrange purpoſe to which it is applied by ſome, but for haſtening all the operations neceſſary to ſink our debts, in order to haſten that diminution of taxes, which will become practicable when a part of our debt is ſunk, and which will facilitate extremely the diſcharge of the reſt. The truth is, that if we defer theſe operations too long, we may be never able to perform them with equal advantage, nor, by keeping pace with our neighbours, to renew our ſtrength as faſt, as they are intent to renew theirs. Our neighbours have ſuffered by former wars, and have

been exhauſted by the laſt, as well, though, I apprehend, not ſo much, as we, France, for inſtance, has contracted in the late war no more than one third of the additional debt we have contracted in it, as I believe on very good authority: and ſhe has been able to aſſign funds, which pay the intereſt of this debt regularly, and ſink yearly a part of the principal. I am not ſo well appriſed of the actual ſtate of Spain. But the treaſures of the Weſt-Indies are poured into her daily; and as ſhe has been long recovered, or recovering, from her antient indolence and ignorance, ſhe ſeems to apply herſelf to the augmentation of her maritime force, to the improvement of her trade, and even to that of domeſtic manufactures. In a word, what has been ſaid before may be repeated here: they, who get ſooneſt out of the preſent common diſtreſs, will give the law to others, or be at leaſt in a condition of not receiving it from any one.

As to national ſafety, we ſhall do well to obſerve how much the ſyſtem of dominion and power in Europe is leſs favourable at preſent to our political intereſts and views, than it was when we undertook to mend it. Spain was falling, but not fallen into the hands of France, at the beginning of this century; and though the Spaniſh nation, as well as court, gave their monarchy afterwards to a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, that they might prevent the diſmemberment of it; yet they were averſe enough, by long habits of hoſtility, to a French government. Fortune and we have done ſo well at laſt, that theſe two nations are now cloſely united by intereſt, and by habit, and that Spain is therefore

fore more than ever eſtranged from us: the proofs of which are not only recent, but, I fear, actual.

The frontier of France has been the great ſupport of her exorbitant power, as wiſe men foreſaw fourſcore years ago, when Lewis the fourteenth began to raiſe that wall of braſs which reaches from the Alps to the Ocean, that it would become. This frontier is now more compact than ever by the acquiſition of Lorain. The branches of the houſe of Bourbon have taken root in Italy as well as in Spain. France has learned by experience to raiſe and to maintain her credit, and to extend her commerce, for the protection and ſupport whereof ſhe ſeems more attentive than ever to increaſe her ſtrength by ſea: a ſtrength ſhe will always exert with great advantage over us in ſome reſpects, I mean in thoſe of order, frugal management, and ſtrict diſcipline.

The whole empire, except Bavaria and Cologn, was attached to us by inclination, as well as intereſt, in the war which began with this century. It is much otherwiſe now: and we may ſay, I fear, too truly, that the influence of France in Germany is little inferior to what it was whilſt the league of the Rhine ſubſiſted.

The Dutch commonwealth, our beſt ally, and in ſome ſort a barrier to Great Britain, is in a ſtate of diſſolution; and has not, either without or within herſelf, thoſe means of recovery by conjuncture and by character, that ſhe has had on ſeveral occaſions from the time her government was firſt formed.

This ſhort ſtate may ſerve to ſhow how difficult it will be, till we have paid a good part of our debt,

and

and reſtored our country in ſome meaſure to her former wealth and power, to maintain the dignity of Great Britain, to make her reſpected abroad, and ſecure from injuries, or even affronts, on the part of her neighbours. This may appear eaſy, for aught I know, to ſome men. But, ſure I am, it would appear difficult to Burleigh and Walſingham, if they were to riſe from the dead; notwithſtanding the ſucceſs they had in Queen Elizabeth's reign by doing much at little expence, and by employing management much more than force.

Theſe reflections, and ſuch as they ſuggeſt naturally to the mind, make it evident, that the future proſperity and ſafety of this country depend on the ſpeedy diminution of our national debts. Nothing elſe can ſecure us effectually againſt contingent events that may be of fatal conſequence to both. Recent experience has ſhewn how unfit we are become in every reſpect, except the courage of our common ſeamen and ſoldiers, to engage in war. We ſhall not therefore, I ſuppoſe, provoke it eaſily, or ſoon. But war may be brought upon us, though we ſhould not provoke it, nor go to the continent to ſeek it. Nay, we may be reduced to the melancholly dilemma of increaſing our annual expence to aſſert our rights, to protect our trade, and to maintain our dignity; or of ſitting tamely down and ſacrificing them all. I think, nay I hope, that we ſhould not do the laſt: and yet we ſhould have much greater difficulties to ſtruggle with in our preſent ſituation, than we had in the former, great as they were, if we attempted to do what was then ſo ſhamefully neglected. We cannot increaſe our expences

pences now, nor ſhall we be able to do ſo till ſome part of our national debt be diſcharged, without mortgaging on the remainder of the ſinking fund; which would ſoon take away all hope of ever paying any part of this debt, and leave us nothing to mortgage but our land and our malt: whereas if a conſiderable part of this debt was diſcharged before any new war broke out, or we were reduced to any ſuch dilemma as I have mentioned, we ſhould find ourſelves, whilſt it laſted, in a much better condition of defence or offence, and we might be able, as ſoon as it was over, to reſume the ſame operations, and to proceed in our great domeſtic concern.

Theſe conſiderations will have great weight with men, who are able to combine all that is to be combined on ſuch an important occaſion, and, by reflecting on the paſt, and by obſerving the preſent, to judge of the future. The only effectual, and therefore neceſſary, remedies may appear violent, even to them: but they will conſider, and every man ought to conſider, that if we cannot bear our diſtemper, and will not bear our cure, the political body muſt periſh. This miſerable ſtate will create juſtly the indignation of mankind. But this indignation ſhould turn againſt thoſe who have brought us into it, not againſt thoſe who would deliver us from it. This is the language of reaſon dictated by public ſpirit: but private intereſt and narrow views will dictate another.

The moneyed men will complain loudly that they are expoſed to perpetual reductions of intereſt, which have ſerved to no other purpoſe, than to nouriſh

nourish the profusion of successive administrations: and, if this was to continue, their complaints would be just, and the hardships imposed upon them intolerable. It is, therefore, just that neither they should consent to this new reduction of interest, which may be called a new tax upon them, nor the landed men to the continuance of that old and heavy tax on land, unless they have the utmost security that the whole shall be applied to its proper use. There will be still complaints; and we shall hear the melancholly condition, to which the widow and the orphan, whose small but sole fortunes are in the funds, will be reduced, most pathetically displayed. The answer will be, however, obvious. If the widow and the orphan, who have their estates in money, suffer by the reduction of interest; the widow and the orphan, who have their estates in land, will suffer by the continuance of the tax upon it: and both one and the other must take their share in the common calamity of their country.

But the truth is, that the feeble voice of the widow and the orphan will be little heard. The great din will be raised by stock jobbers and usurers, by the principal men in our great companies, who, born to serve and to obey, have been bred to command even government itself. These men will roar aloud, and endeavour, by silent intrigue, as well as by noise, to obstruct every measure that tends to emancipate government out of their hands, to make the exchequer, what it ought to be, the great spring of public credit, and the great science of all transactions relative to public receipts and payments.

Let

Let theſe men learn therefore to ſubmit, and to reaſon, as old Bateman did, when the reduction of intereſt was agreed to in the year 1717. He told my Lord Stanhope, he was glad this reſolution had been taken; becauſe, though his intereſt diminiſhed, he ſhould think his principal more ſecure than ever. On the whole, complaints from this quarter will make little impreſſion on a miniſter, who knows, that though ſuch men have been employed whilſt new debts were to be contracted every year, and the public, like an extravagant ſpendthrift, was obliged to deal with uſurers on their own terms; yet they are not to be conſulted when debts are to be paid, and the public to be taken out of their hands; who knows, in ſhort, that his arms are longer than theirs, and makes them feel that he will keep, or not keep, meaſures with them, according to their behaviour; who purſues ſteddily the wiſe and honeſt deſign of rendering his own, and every future adminiſtration, independent of them.

Much oppoſition will ariſe from two other quarters, the country and the court; in which I ſhould apprehend that the leaſt plauſible might be the moſt ſucceſsful.

The landed man will think it hard, that he is not ſuffered to enjoy a little eaſe, after having borne the burden and heat of the day during a long courſe of expenſive peace and of ruinous war. All that can be ſaid, to perſuade him that an immediate diminution of the land-tax is contrary to his intereſt, will paſs for deception and paradox. He will be apt to reaſon like his country tenants, who are always frightened at an immediate expence, though remote,

remote, and yet great profit muſt be the certain conſequence of it. Let ſuch a man look back then, and take his leſſon from what is paſt. He will find that; whilſt he winked at profuſion, becauſe he was flattered by abatements on the land-tax, debts were contracted, that have coſt him much more than the continuance of that tax would have coſt him. If we look back to the firſt ten years of his preſent majeſty's reign, we ſhall find this very remarkably verified. Let the ſame man, after he has looked back, look forward again. He will ſee, that as any diminution of the land-tax, to be ſupplied out of the produce of the ſinking fund, or by borrowing, even at three *per cent.* on the credit of it, muſt prevent, or retard, which may be equivalent to preventing, the diſcharge of any conſiderable part of our debt; ſo he will continue expoſed to have the whole tax laid anew, on the firſt occaſion, either real or pretended. He may find himſelf, after a little reſpite, under the load of the ſame tax, and of an increaſed debt: and this may be all he will get by refuſing to bear a little longer, for his own ſake, and for an important object, what he has borne ſeveral years for the ſake of others, and for the ſupport of a moſt unſucceſsful war; for ſuch it may be reckoned, after the French were beat at Dettinghen.

On the other ſide, if he is wiſe enough to deſire, that the four ſhillings in the pound be continued for a few years, he will have his ſhare in the common benefits of diminiſhing public debts, increaſing public credit, improving trade, and reſtoring national proſperity. He may entertain the comfortable

fortable hope of a time, when he, or his poſterity, will have no need of conſenting to any tax at all on land in time of peace; ſince the annual produce of other funds will be ſooner or later, in this method, ſufficient to defray the annual expence of the government. He may acquire an advantage that will make him ample amends for what it coſt him. Such of the taxes, whether of exciſe or of cuſtoms, as bear hardeſt on the poor labourers, and on our own manufactures, may be reduced, gradually at leaſt, without any conſiderable interruption of the operations neceſſary to diſcharge our national debt: and though he is little accuſtomed to think himſelf as much affected by other taxes, as he is by the land-tax, he will ſoon perceive, that a ſaving on every thing he eats, drinks, or wears, is a laſting and a large repayment of what this tax took from him, whilſt he conſented to continue it. He will find himſelf a gainer, not only by what he ſaves in his expences, but by the improvement of his eſtate; for the whole ſyſtem of national wealth and proſperity are intimately connected.

The courtier will complain loudly, authoritatively, and pompouſly, that any retrenchments on our annual expences may do more hurt, than the ſaving can do good. But I believe it not hard to ſhew, that three ſhillings, or three ſhillings and ſix-pence in the pound on land, leaving the reſt of the four ſhillings to go to the ſinking fund, would be more than ſufficient to anſwer all neceſſary expences in time of peace. Wiſe man are able to do a great deal with a little: every knave or fool is ready to do a little with a great deal. The former know that good

policy conſiſts in obſerving two ſorts of oeconomy, the greater and the leſs: to proportion, by the firſt, our expences to our circumſtances, and to thoſe of our neighbours, and to do it with the utmoſt frugality that theſe circumſtances, combined together, will admit: to controul, by the ſecond, in the moſt ſtrict and regular manner, the diſpenſation of the public treaſure, from the higheſt down to the loweſt offices of the ſtate. It is of the utmoſt importance, at this time eſpecially, that both theſe kinds of oeconomy be practiſed. Our well-being, even our ſecurity, depends upon them. If we do not pay our debts, we muſt ſink under the load of them: and if we go about to pay them, without practiſing theſe two ſorts of oeconomy, the ridiculous figure which I have ſeen in a Dutch print, of a man toiling and ſweating to cord a rope of hay, whilſt an aſs bites it off at the other end, as faſt as he cords it, will be our proper emblem.

Extreme frugality was one of the means employed by the great miniſter who has been quoted above: and the ſucceſs he had, in ſimilar circumſtances, ſhould encourage the practice of the ſame frugality in ours. But he employed another expedient likewiſe, which is not leſs neceſſary here than it was there, nor in our time than it was in his. The expedient I mean, is that of reforming abuſes. Sully rendered this reformation no inconſiderable fund for the payment of public debts. Whether we can do ſo, as effectually as he did, or no, I determine not. But thus much is certain; ſuch a reformation will make all future ſervices be carried on at a cheaper rate for the public; and ſaving is often the ſureſt way

way of gaining. Materials might be collected, not for a pamphlet, but for a regular treatiſe under diſtinct heads, concerning the abuſes and corruptions which prevail among us in every part of the public ſervice, and concerning the conſequences of them: I know not too whether ſome work of this kind ſhould not be undertaken, as invidious as it may ſeem, if nothing is done to reform theſe abuſes, and to extinguiſh this corruption.

They were creeping forward long ago; but ſince a certain period, they have advanced with very large ſtrides. Frauds were connived at, perhaps encouraged, and corruption was propagated formerly by principal men, who had, for the moſt part, more ambition than avarice, and who raiſed, by theſe means, a formidable party that might ſupport them in power. But in proceſs of time, and in favourable conjunctures, the contagion roſe higher, and ſpread ſtill wider; principal men became parties to the greateſt frauds; and the higheſt of thoſe who governed, and the loweſt of thoſe who were governed, contributed, in their degrees, to the univerſal rapine. The greateſt particular cheat, whereof any example can be found, was, I believe, that which arrears of ſubſidies to foreign princes, and arrears of pay to foreign troops, gave the opportunity and the means of executing.

I am ſenſible, that the repreſentation I have made of the degeneracy of our age and people, may give occaſion to ſay, that the very things I have been pleading for are impracticable. It will be aſked, what expectation can be entertained of raiſing a diſintereſted public ſpirit, among men who have no

other principle than that of private intereſt, who are individuals rather than fellow-citizens, who prey on one another, and are, in a ſtate of civil ſociety, much like to Hobbes's men in his ſuppoſed ſtate of nature? I muſt agree, though unwillingly, that the enterpriſe is difficult. But the more difficult it is, if nothing leſs can relieve us from the load of debt we lie under, nor prevent the conſequences of lying under it much longer; every attempt to raiſe this ſpirit, and to promote theſe meaſures, even the weakeſt, even mine, is commendable. The landed men are the true owners of our political veſſel: the monied men, as ſuch, are no more than paſſengers in it. To the firſt, therefore, all exhortations to aſſume this ſpirit ſhould be addreſſed. It is their part to ſet the example: and when they do ſo, they have a right to expect that the paſſengers ſhould contribute their proportion to ſave the veſſel. If they ſhould prove refractory, they muſt be told that there is a law in behalf of the public, more ſacred, and more ancient too, for it is as ancient as political ſociety, than all thoſe under the terms of which they would exempt themſelves from any reduction of intereſt, and conſequently from any reimburſement of their principal; though this reduction, and this reimburſement, be abſolutely neceſſary to reſtore the proſperity of the nation, and to provide for her ſecurity in the mean time. The law I mean, is that which nature and reaſon dictate, and which declares the preſervation of the commonwealth to be ſuperior to all other laws.

If ſuch a co-operation of the landed and monied intereſts is once brought about, the way will lie ſmooth

ſmooth before us, and a proſpect of national proſperity at the end of it will open before us yearly. Even the proſpect will be of great advantage, both at home and abroad. We ſhall feel it in the riſe of our credit, in the confidence which our friends, and in the reſpect which our enemies, will have for us: a reſpect that will be due juſtly to a people who exert ſo much vigour in the midſt of ſo much diſtreſs, and take effectual meaſures to reſtore their national ſtrength, and to reſume their former dignity, inſtead of languiſhing on under impotence and contempt.

The man who is not fired by ſuch conſiderations as theſe, muſt have no elevation of mind, no love for his country, no regard for poſterity, nor the leaſt tincture of that public morality which diſtinguiſhes a good from a bad citizen. I know that futility, ignorance, and every kind of profligacy, are general: but I know too that they are not univerſal, and therefore I do not deſpair. In all events, the merit of preſerving our country from beggary is little inferior to that of preſerving it from ſlavery. They who engage therefore in ſo good a cauſe, and purſue it ſteddily in that public ſpirit, a revival of which can alone ſave this nation from miſery, from oppreſſion, and perhaps from confuſion, the uſual conſequence of the other two; they will deſerve better, I preſume to ſay, the title of *ultimi Britanorum*, even if they ſhould be defeated by the worſt ſubjects of Britain, than that uſurer Brutus, and that ſevere exactor of contributions, Caſſius, deſerved the title of *ultimi Romanorum*,

when they were defeated in another manner, by the worſt citizens of Rome.

After all that has been ſaid in theſe papears, and all that might be ſaid concerning the conduct of the houſe of Auſtria, from the reign of King William to the preſent time; it may be proper to add ſomefomething by way of precaution, and to prevent very falſe concluſions, that many will be ready to draw from very true premiſſes.

It is notoriouſly true, that a ſpirit of bigotry, of tyranny, and of avarice, in the court of Vienna, maintained long the troubles in Hungary, which might have been appeaſed much ſooner than they were. Thus a great and conſtant diverſion was kept up in favour of France, even at the time when the two houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon were ſtruggling for that great prize, the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, till the French troops took poſſeſſion of Paſſau, and the malecontents of Hungary raiſed contributions in the very ſuburbs of Vienna.

It is notoriouſly true, that we might have had nothing more than a defenſive war, as I have ſaid in the foregoing papers, to make againſt France, with an Auſtrian prince on the throne of Spain, at the death of Charles the ſecond; if the Emperor Leopald would have concurred in the wiſe and practicable meaſures which King William propoſed.

It is notoriouſly true, that we might have avoided the defeat at Almanza, and have ſupported much better the war in Spain; if a predilection for acquiſitions in Italy, had not determined the councils of Vienna to precipitate the evacuation of Mantua, wherein

wherein an army of French was blocked up after the battle of Turin, and which was let loose in this manner, againſt the opinion of the queen, and the States general, time enough to beat us at Almanza.

Finally, for I will deſcend into no more particulars, it is notoriouſly true, that we might have taken Toulon, and have carried the war into the beſt provinces of France, for which Queen Anne had made, at a vaſt expence, all the neceſſary preparations; if the Auſtrians had not detached, in that very point of time, twelve thouſand men on the expedition to Naples, and if prince Eugene had not ſhewn too viſibly, before perſons ſtill alive, that the taking of Toulon was the leaſt of his objects.

Theſe facts are ſufficient to ſhew, how much the miſtaken policy of the court of Vienna has overloaded her allies, during more than half a century, and has defeated the great deſign which theſe allies, and Britain in particular, carried on for her, at the expence of infinite blood and treaſure. Now there are many in this kingdom very ready to conclude, from theſe facts, and from others of the ſame kind poſterior to theſe, that our experience ſhould teach us to neglect the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria, and to be regardleſs of all that paſſes on the continent for the time to come. But ſurely ſuch concluſions are very falſe. The principle of our conduct has been right, and our manner of purſuing it alone wrong. It was our neglect of the general intereſt of Europe, from the Pyrenean treaty to the revolution of our government in 1688, that gave to France a long opportunity, and the means of raiſing

raiſing an exorbitant power. It has been zeal without knowledge, and a ſtrange ſubſerviency to private intereſts, which have almoſt exhauſted this country, and defeated all our endeavours for the public good, ſince that time. This we may alter. The principle of policy we cannot, as long as the diviſion of power and property in Europe continues the ſame. We are an iſland indeed: but if a ſuperior power gives the law to the continent, I apprehend that it will give it to us too in ſome great degree. Our forefathers apprehended, with reaſon, the exorbitant power of the houſe of Auſtria; and thought that the pretenſions of Mary Queen of Scots might give, even when ſhe was a priſoner, opportunity and advantage, as they did no doubt, to this power to diſturb our peace, and even to invade our iſland. The exorbitant power of the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon, give ſurely in this reſpect, as well as in others, at leaſt the ſame cauſe of apprehenſion now. It is, therefore, plainly our intereſt, to maintain the rivalry between the families of Auſtria and of Bourbon; and for that purpoſe to aſſiſt the former on every occaſion againſt the latter, as far as the common cauſe of Europe, not her private ambition, requires; and as far as our national circumſtances may enable us to meaſure out our aſſiſtance in any conjuncture to her.

Theſe are the meaſures and proportions, according to which alone political ſocieties ought to unite in alliances, and to aſſiſt one another. There is a political, as well as a natural, ſelf-love; and the former ought to be, to every member of a commonwealth, the ſame determining principle of action,

where

where public intereſt is concerned, that the latter will be to him moſt certainly wherever his private intereſt is concerned. I have heard it often ſaid of one man, that he was a friend or an enemy to the houſe of Auſtria: and of another, that he was a friend or an enemy to the houſe of Bourbon. But theſe expreſſions proceed generally from paſſion and prepoſſeſſion; as the ſentiments they impute muſt proceed, whenever they are real, from theſe cauſes, or from one which is ſtill worſe, from corruption. A wiſe prince, and a wiſe people, bear no regard to other ſtates, except that which ariſes from the coincidence or repugnancy of their ſeveral intereſts; and this regard muſt therefore vary, as theſe intereſts will do, in the perpetual fluctuation of human affairs. Thus Queen Elizabeth and her people oppoſed the houſe of Auſtria, and ſupported the houſe of Bourbon, in the ſixteenth century. Thus Queen Anne and her people oppoſed the houſe of Bourbon, and ſupported the houſe of Auſtria, in the eighteenth. The firſt, indeed, was done with wiſer counſel; the laſt with greater force of arms. By the firſt, our country was enriched; by the laſt, it was impoveriſhed——

N. B. Theſe conſiderations were written thus far in the year 1749, but were never finiſhed.

LETTERS,

ON THE

SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM:

ON THE

Idea of a PATRIOT KING:

AND

On the STATE of PARTIES,

At the Acceſſion of

KING GEORGE the FIRST.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following papers were written ſeveral years ago, at the requeſt, and for the ſake of ſome particular friends, without any deſign of ever making them public. How they come to be made ſo at this time, it may be proper to give an account.—The original draughts were entruſted to a man, on whom the author thought he might entirely depend, after he had exacted from him, and taken his promiſe, that they ſhould never go into any hands, except thoſe of five or ſix perſons, who were then named to him. In this confidence the author reſted ſecurely for ſome years; and though he was not without ſuſpicion, that they had been communicated to more perſons than he intended they ſhould be, yet he was kept, by repeated aſſurances, even from ſuſpecting that any copies had gone into hands unknown to him. But this man was no ſooner dead, than he received information that an entire edition of 1500 copies of theſe papers had been printed; that this very man had corrected the preſs, and that he had left them in the hands of the printer, to be kept with great ſecrecy, till further order. The honeſt printer kept his word with him better than he kept his with his friend: ſo that the whole edition came at laſt into the hands of the author, ex-

cept ſome few copies which this perſon had taken out of the heap, and carried away. Theſe are, doubtleſs, the copies, which have been handed about not very privately, ſince his death. The reſt were all deſtroyed in one common fire as ſoon as they were given up, except a copy or two, which have never been ſince out of the author's own hands. By theſe copies it appeared, that the man who had been guilty of this breach of truſt, had taken upon him further to divide the ſubject, and to alter and to omit paſſages, according to the ſuggeſtions of his own fancy.

What aggravates this proceeding extremly is, that the author had told him on ſeveral occaſion, among other reaſons why he would not conſent to the publication of theſe papers, that they had been writ in too much heat and hurry for the public eye, though they might be truſted to a few particular friends. He added, more than once that ſome things required to be ſoftened, others perhaps to be ſtrengthened, and the whole moſt certainly to be corrected; even if they were to remain, as he then imagined they would, in the hands of a few friends only. This has been done ſince, that there might be one copy at leaſt more conformable to the author's intentions than thoſe which had gone abroad, or even than his original manuſcripts.

There is ſcarce a man in the world more detached from it, at this hour, than the author of theſe papers, or more indifferent to the cenſure of moſt people in it, having nothing to expect, nor any thing to fear from them. He might, therefore, in his way of life, and in his diſpoſition of mind, either

either not have known that ſcraps and fragments of theſe paper had been employed to ſwell a monthly magazine, and that the ſame honourable employment of them was to be continued; or, knowing it, he might have deſpiſed and neglected it. But ſome of his friends thought that it was too much to ſuffer this breach of truſt, and the licentious advantage taken of it, to make him appear the author of writings, which were become more properly the writings of others than his, conſidering how they had been garbled, and in what manner they were publiſhed. The editor therefore, who has in his hands the genuine copy which the author reſerved to himſelf, after reviſing and correcting the originals, reſolved to publiſh it; ſince it was become impoſſible to hinder ſuch as were not genuine from being retailed monthly or weekly to the world. Neither the author nor he would give offence wantonly to the living: but the author neither can, nor ought, on any account, to neglect what truth, honour, and the juſtice due to his own character, require. Neither the author nor he affect to accuſe miniſters after their death, as the Egyptians formerly accuſed even their kings. There is the leſs reaſon to do ſo, ſince the former may be, and are accuſed, and without ſcruple, though without ſucceſs for the moſt part, during their lives. The anecdotes here related were true, and the reflections made upon them were juſt, many years ago. The former would not have been related, if he who related them had not known them to be true; nor the latter have been made, if he who made

them had not thought them juſt: and if they were true and juſt then, they muſt be true and juſt now, and always. The author therefore ſcorns to diſown them: and the editor thinks that he has no excuſe to make for publiſhing them.

LETTER

LETTER I.

On the SPIRIT of PATRIOTISM.

My LORD, 1736.

YOU have engaged me on a ſubject which interrupts the ſeries of thoſe letters I was writing to you; but it is one, which, I confeſs, I have very much at heart. I ſhall therefore explain myſelf fully, nor bluſh to reaſon on principles that are out of faſhion among men, who intend nothing by ſerving the public, but to feed their avarice, their vanity, and their luxury, without the ſenſe of any duty they owe to God or man.

It ſeems to me, that in order to maintain the moral ſyſtem of the world at a certain point, far below that of ideal perfection, (for we are made capable of conceiving what we are incapable of attaining) but however ſufficient upon the whole to conſtitute a ſtate eaſy and happy, or, at the worſt, tolerable: I ſay, it ſeems to me, that the Author of Nature has thought fit to mingle from time to time, among the ſocieties of men, a few, and but a few, of thoſe, on whom he is graciouſly pleaſed to be-

ſtow a larger proportion of the ethereal ſpirit than is given in the ordinary courſe of his providence to the ſons of men. Theſe are they who engroſs almoſt the whole reaſon of the ſpecies, who are born to inſtruct, to guide, and to preſerve; who are deſigned to be the tutors and the guardians of human kind. When they prove ſuch, they exhibit to us examples of the higheſt virtue, and the trueſt piety: and they deſerve to have their feſtivals kept, inſtead of that pack of Anachorites and Enthuſiaſts, with whoſe names the calendar is crowded and diſgraced. When theſe men apply their talents to other purpoſes, when they ſtrive to be great and deſpiſe being good, they commit a moſt ſacrilegious breach of truſt; they pervert the means, they defeat as far as lies in them the deſigns of providence, and diſturb in ſome ſort the ſyſtem of infinite Wiſdom. To miſapply theſe talents is the moſt diffuſed, and therefore the greateſt of crimes in its nature and conſequences; but to keep them unexerted, and unemployed, is a crime too. Look about you, my Lord, from the palace to the cottage; you will find that the bulk of mankind is made to breathe the air of this atmoſphere, to roam about this globe, and to conſume, like the courtiers of Alcinous, the fruits of the earth. *Nos numerus ſumus et fruges conſumere nati.* When they have trod this inſipid round a certain number of years, and begot others to do the ſame after them, they have lived: and if they have performed, in ſome tolerable degree, the ordinary moral duties of life, they have done all they were born to do. Look about you again, my Lord, nay look into your own breaſt,

breaſt, and you will find that there are ſuperior ſpirits, men who ſhew even from their infancy, though it be not always perceived by others, perhaps not always felt by themſelves, that they were born for ſomething more, and better. Theſe are the men to whom the part I mentioned is aſſigned. Their talents denote their general deſignation; and the opportunities of conforming themſelves to it, that ariſe in the courſe of things, or that are preſented to them by any circumſtances of rank and ſituation in the ſociety to which they belong, denote the particular vocation which it is not lawful for them to reſiſt, nor even to neglect. The duration of the lives of ſuch men as theſe is to be determined, I think, by the length and importance of the parts they act, not by the number of years that paſs between their coming into the world, and their going out of it. Whether the piece be of three, or of five acts, the part may be long: and he who ſuſtains it through the whole may be ſaid to die in the fulneſs of years; whilſt he who declines it ſooner, may be ſaid not to live out half his days.

I have ſometimes repreſented to myſelf the Vulgar, who are accidentally diſtinguiſhed by the titles of king and ſubject, of lord and vaſſal, of nobleman and peaſant; and the few who are diſtinguiſhed by nature ſo eſſentially from the herd of mankind, that (figure apart) they ſeem to be of another ſpecies, in this manner. The former come into the world and continue into it like Dutch travellers in a foreign country. Every thing they meet has the grace of novelty: and they are fond alike of every thing that is new. They wander about from one object

to another, of vain curiosity, or inelegant pleasure. If they are industrious, they shew their industry in copying signs, and collecting mottos and epitaphs. They loiter, or they trifle away their whole time: and their presence or their absence would be equally unperceived, if caprice or accident did not raise them often to stations, wherein their stupidity, their vices, or their follies, make them a public misfortune. The latter come into the world, or at least continue in it after the effects of surprise and inexperience are over, like men who are sent on more important errands. They observe with distinction, they admire with knowledge. They may indulge themselves in pleasure; but as their industry is not employed about trifles, so their amusements are not made the business of their lives. Such men cannot pass unperceived through a country. If they retire from the world, their splendor accompanies them, and enlightens even the obscurity of their retreat. If they take a part in public life, the effect is never indifferent. They either appear like ministers of divine vengeance, and their course through the world is marked by desolation and oppression, by poverty and servitude: or they are the guardian angels of the country they inhabit, busy to avert even the most distant evil, and to maintain or to procure peace, plenty, and the greatest of human blessings, liberty.

From the observation, that superiority of parts is often employed to do superior mischief, no consequence can be drawn against the truth I endeavour to establish. Reason collects the will of God from the constitution of things, in this as in other cases; but

but in no caſe does the Divine power impel us neceſſarily to conform ourſelves to this will: and therefore from the miſapplication of ſuperior parts to the hurt, no argument can be drawn againſt this poſition, that they were given for the good of mankind. Reaſon deceives us not: we deceive ourſelves, and ſuffer our wills to be determined by other motives. Montaigne or Charron would ſay, *l'homme ſe pipe*, "man is at once his own ſharper, and his own "bubble." Human nature is her own bawd, ſays Tully, *Blanda conciliatrix et quaſi lena ſui.* He who conſiders the univerſal wants, imperfections, and vices of his kind, muſt agree that men were intended not only for ſociety, but to unite in commonwealths, and to ſubmit to laws. *Legum idcirco omnes ſervi ſumus, ut liberi eſſe poſſimus.* And yet this very man will be ſeduced by his own paſſions, or the paſſions and examples of others, to think, or to act as if he thought, the very contrary. So he who is conſcious of ſuperior endowments, ſuch as render him more capable than the generality of men to ſecure and improve the advantages of ſocial life, by preſerving the commonwealth in ſtrength and ſplendor, even he may be ſeduced to think, or to act as if he thought, that theſe endowments were given him for the gratification of his ambition, and his other paſſions; and that there is no difference between vice and virtue, between a knave and an honeſt man, but one which a prince, who died not many years ago, aſſerted, "that men "of great ſenſe were therefore knaves, and men of "little ſenſe were therefore honeſt." But in neither of theſe caſes will the truth and reaſon of things be

be altered, by ſuch examples of human frailty. It will be ſtill true, and the reaſon will ſtill demonſtrate, that all men are directed, by the general conſtitution of human nature, to ſubmit to government; and that ſome men are in a particular manner deſigned to take care of that government on which the common happineſs depends. The uſe that reaſon will make of ſuch examples will be only this, that ſince men are ſo apt, in every form of life and every degree of underſtanding, to act againſt their intereſt and their duty too, without benevolence to mankind, or regard to the Divine will; it is the more incumbent on thoſe, who have this benevolence and this regard at heart, to employ all the means that the nature of the government allows, and that rank, circumſtances of ſituation, or ſuperiority of talents, give them, to oppoſe evil, and promote good government; and contribute thus to preſerve the moral ſyſtem of the world, at that point of imperfection at leaſt, which ſeems to have been preſcribed to it by the Great Creator of every ſyſtem of beings.

Give me leave now, my Lord, to caſt my eyes for a moment homeward, and to apply what I have been ſaying to the preſent ſtate of Britain. That there is no profuſion of the ethereal ſpirit to be obſerved among us, and that we do not abound with men of ſuperior genius, I am ready to confeſs; but I think there is no ground for the complaints I have heard made, as if nature had not done her part in our age, as well as in former ages, by producing men capable of ſerving the commonwealth. The manners of our forefathers were, I believe, in ma-

ny

ny reſpects better: they had more probity perhaps, they had certainly more ſhow of honour, and greater induſtry. But ſtill nature ſows alike, though we do not reap alike. There are, and as there always have been, there always will be ſuch creatures in government as I have deſcribed above. Fortune maintains a kind of rivalſhip with wiſdom, and piques herſelf often in favour of fools as well as knaves. Socrates uſed to ſay, that although no man undertakes a trade he has not learned, even the meaneſt; yet every one thinks himſelf ſufficiently qualified for the hardeſt of all trades, that of government. He ſaid this upon the experience he had in Greece. He would not change his opinion if he lived now in Britain. But however, ſuch characters as theſe would do little hurt, generally ſpeaking, or would not do it long, if they ſtood alone. To do great hurt, ſome genius, ſome knowledge, ſome talents in ſhort, natural or acquired, are neceſſary: leſs indeed, far leſs than are required to do good, but always ſome. Yet I imagaine, not the worſt miniſter could do all the miſchief he does by the miſapplication of his talents alone, if it were not for the miſapplication of much better talents than his by ſome who join with him, and the non-application, or the faint and unſteady exerciſe of their talents by ſome who oppoſe him; as well as the general remiſſneſs of mankind in acquiring knowledge, and in improving the parts which God has given them for the ſervice of the public. Theſe are the great ſprings of national misfortunes. There have been monſters in other ages, and other countries, as well as ours; but they have never continued their devaſtati-

devaſtations long, when there were heroes to oppoſe them. We will ſuppoſe a man imprudent, raſh, preſumptuous, ungracious, infolent and profligate, in ſpeculation as well as practice. He can bribe, but he cannot ſeduce: he can buy, but he cannot gain: he can lye, but he cannot deceive. From whence then has ſuch a man his ſtrength? From the general corruption, of the people, nurſed up to a full maturity under his adminiſtration; from the venality of all orders and all ranks of men, ſome of whom are ſo proſtitute, that they ſet themſelves to ſale, and even prevent application. This would be the anſwer, and it would be a true one as far as it goes; but it does not account for the whole, corruption could not ſpread with ſo much ſucceſs, tho' reduced into ſyſtem; and though ſome miniſters, with equal impudence and folly, avowed it by themſelves and their advocates, to be the principal expedient by which they governed, if a long and almoſt unobſerved progreſſion of cauſes and effects, did not prepare the conjuncture. Let me explain it and apply it, as I conceive it. One party had given their whole attention, during ſeveral years, to the project of enriching themſelves, and impoveriſhing the reſt of the nation; and, by theſe and other means, of eſtabliſhing their dominion under the government and with the favour of a family, who were foreigners, and therefore might believe, that they were eſtabliſhed on the throne by the good will and ſtrength of this party alone. This party in general were ſo intent on theſe views, and many of them, I fear, are ſo ſtill, that they did not advert in time to the neceſſary conſequences of the

meaſures

meaſures they abetted: nor did they conſider, that the power they raiſed, and by which they hoped to govern their country, would govern them with the very rod of iron they forged, and would be the power of a prince or miniſter, not that of a party long. Another party continued ſour, ſullen, and inactive, with judgements ſo weak, and paſſions ſo ſtrong, that even experience, and a ſevere one ſurely, was loſt upon them. They waited, like the Jews, for a Meſſiah, that may never come; and under whom, if he did come, they would be ſtrangely diſappointed in their expectations of glory and triumph, and univerſal dominion. Whilſt they waited, they were marked out like the Jews, a diſtinct race, hewers of wood and drawers of water, ſcarce members of the community, though born in the country. All indifferent men ſtood as it were at a gaze: and the few, who were jealous of the court, were ſtill more jealous of one another; ſo that a ſtrength ſufficient to oppoſe bad miniſters was not eaſy to be formed. When this ſtrength was formed, and the inſufficiency or iniquity of the adminiſtration was daily expoſed to public view, many adhered at firſt to the miniſter, and others were ſince gained to his cauſe, becauſe they knew nothing of the conſtitution of their own, nor of the hiſtory of other countries; but imagined wildly, that things always went as they ſaw them go, and that liberty has been, and therefore may be preſerved under the influence of the ſame corruption. Others perhaps were weak enough to be frightened at firſt, as ſome are hypocritical enough to pretend to be ſtill, with the appellations of Tory and Jacobite, which are al-

ways ridiculously given to every man who does not bow to the brazen image that the king has set up. Others again might be persuaded, that no fatal use at least would be made of the power acquired by corruption; and men of superior parts might and may still flatter themselves, that if this power should be so employed, they shall have time and means to stop the effects of it. The first of these are seduced by their ignorance and futility; the second, if they are not hypocrites, by their prejudices; the third, by their partiality and blind confidence; the last, by their presumption; and all of them by the mammon of unrighteousness, their private interest, which they endeavour to palliate and to reconcile as well as they can to that of the public; *et cæca cupiditate corrupti, non intelligunt se, dum vendunt, et venire.*

According to this representation, which I take to be true, your lordship will agree that our unfortunate country affords an example in proof of what is asserted above. The Dutch travellers I spoke of, men of the ordinary, or below the ordinary size of understanding, though they are called by caprice, or lifted any other way into power, cannot do great and long mischief, in a country of liberty; unless men of genius, knowledge, and experience, misapply these talents, and become their leaders. A ministerial faction would have as little ability to do hurt, as they have inclination to do good, if they were not formed and conducted by one of better parts than they; nor would such a minister be able to support, at the head of this trusty phalanx, the ignominious tyranny imposed on his country, if o-

ther

ther men, of better parts and much more conſequence than himſelf, were not drawn in to miſapply theſe parts to the vileſt drudgery imaginable; the daily drudgery of explaining nonſenſe, covering ignorance, diſguiſing folly, concealing and even juſtifying fraud and corruption; inſtead of employing their knowledge, their elocution, their ſkill, experience and authority, to correct the adminiſtration and to guard the conſtitution. But this is not all: the example ſhews a great deal more. Your lordſhip's experience as well as mine will juſtify what I am going to ſay. It ſhews further, that ſuch a conjuncture could not be rendered effectual to preſerve power in ſome of the weakeſt and ſome of the worſt hands in the kingdom, if there was not a non-application, or a faint and unſteady exerciſe of parts on one ſide, as well as an iniquitous miſapplication of them on the other: and I cannot help ſaying, let it fall where it will, what I have ſaid perhaps already, that the former is a crime but one degree inferior to the latter. The more genius, induſtry, and ſpirit are employed to deſtroy, the harder the taſk of ſaving our country becomes; but the duty increaſes with the difficulty, if the principles on which I reaſon are true. In ſuch exigences it is not enough that *genius* be oppoſed to *genius*, *ſpirit* muſt be matched by *ſpirit*. They, who go about to deſtroy, are animated from the firſt by ambition and avarice, the love of power and of money: fear makes them often deſperate at laſt. They muſt be oppoſed therefore, or they will be oppoſed in vain, by a ſpirit able to cope with ambition, avarice, and deſpair itſelf: by a ſpirit able to cope with theſe

paſſions, when they are favoured and fortified by the weakneſs of a nation, and the ſtrength of government. In ſuch exigences there is little difference, as to the merit or the effect, between oppoſing faintly and unſteadily, and not oppoſing at all: nay the former may be of worſe conſequence in certain circumſtances than in the latter. And this is a truth I wiſh with all my heart you may not ſee verified in our country, where many, I fear, undertake oppoſition not as a duty, but as an adventure: and looking on themſelves like volunteers, not like men liſted in the ſervice, they deem themſelves at liberty to take as much or as little of this trouble, and to continue in it as long, or end it as ſoon as they pleaſe. It is but a few years ago, that not the merchants alone, but the whole nation, took fire at the project of new exciſes. The project was oppoſed, not on mercantile conſiderations and intereſts alone, but on the true principles of liberty. In parliament, the oppoſition was ſtrenuouſly enough ſupported for a time; but there was ſo little diſpoſition to guide and improve the ſpirit, that the chief concern of thoſe who took the lead ſeemed applied to keep it down; and yet your lordſhip remembers how high it continued againſt the projector; till it was calmed juſt before the elections of the preſent parliament, by the remarkable indolence and inactivity of the laſt ſeſſion of the laſt. But theſe friends of ours, my lord, are as much miſtaken in their ethics, as the event will ſhew they have been in their politics.

The ſervice of our country is no chimerical, but a real duty. He who admits the proofs of any other

ther moral duty, drawn from the conſtitution of human nature, or from the moral fitneſs and unfitneſs of things, muſt admit them in favour of this duty, or be reduced to the moſt abſurd inconſiſtency. When he has once admitted the duty on theſe proofs, it will be no difficult matter to demonſtrate to him, that his obligation to the performance of it is in proportion to the means and the opportunities he has of performing it; and that nothing can diſcharge him from this obligation as long as he has theſe means and theſe opportunities in his power, and as long as his country continues in the ſame want of his ſervices. Theſe obligations then to the public ſervice, may become obligations for life on certain perſons. No doubt they may: and ſhall this conſideration become a reaſon for denying or evading them? On the contrary, ſure it ſhould become a reaſon for acknowledging and fulfilling them, with the greateſt gratitude to the Supreme Being, who has made us capable of acting ſo excellent a part, and of the utmoſt benevolence to mankind? Superior talents, and ſuperior rank amongſt our fellow-creatures, whether acquired by birth, or by the courſe of accidents, and the ſucceſs of our own induſtry, are noble prerogatives. Shall he who poſſeſſes them repine at the obligation they lay him under, of paſſing his whole life in the nobleſt occupation of which human nature is capable? To what higher ſtation, to what greater glory can any mortal aſpire, than to be, during the whole courſe of his life, the ſupport of good, the controul of bad government, and the guardian of public liberty? To be driven from theſe by ſucceſsful tyranny, by loſs of health or of parts, or by the force of accidents, is to be degraded in

ſuch a manner as to deſerve pity, and not to incur blame: but to degrade ourſelves, to deſcend voluntarily, and by choice, from the higheſt to a lower, perhaps to the loweſt rank among the ſons of Adam, to abandon the government of men for that of hounds and horſes, the care of a kingdom for that of a pariſh, and a ſcene of great and generous efforts in public life, for one of trifling amuſements and low cares, of ſloth and of idleneſs, what is it, my Lord? I had rather your Lordſhip ſhould name it than I. Will it be ſaid, that it is hard to exact from ſome men, in favour of others, that they ſhould renounce all the pleaſures of life, and drudge all their days in buſineſs, that others may indulge themſelves in eaſe? It will be ſaid without grounds. A life dedicated to the ſervice of our country admits the full uſe, and no life ſhould admit the abuſe, of pleaſures: the leaſt are conſiſtent with a conſtant diſcharge of our public duty, the greateſt ariſe from it. The common, the ſenſual pleaſures to which nature prompts us, and which reaſon therefore does not forbid, though ſhe ſhould always direct, are ſo far from being excluded out of a life of buſineſs, that they are ſometimes neceſſary in it, and are always heightened by it: thoſe of the table, for inſtance, may be ordered ſo as to promote that which the elder Cato calls *vitæ conjunctionem*. In the midſt of public duties, private ſtudies, and an extreme old age, he found time to frequent the *ſodalitates*, or clubs of friends at Rome, and to ſit up all night with his neighbours in the country of the Sabines. Cato's virtue often glowed with wine; and the love of women did not hinder Cæſar from

forming

forming and executing the greateſt projects that ambition ever ſuggeſted. But if Cæſar, whilſt he laboured to deſtroy the liberties of his country, enjoyed theſe inferior pleaſures of life, which a man who labours to ſave thoſe liberties may enjoy as well as he; there are ſuperior pleaſures in a buſy life that Cæſar never knew, thoſe, I mean, that ariſe from a faithful diſcharge of our duty to the commonwealth. Neither Montaigne, in writing his eſſays, nor Des Cartes, in building new worlds, nor Burnet, in framing an antedeluvian earth, nor Newton, in diſcovering and eſtabliſhing the true laws of nature on experiment and a ſublimer geometry, felt more intellectual joys, than he feels who is a *real patriot*, who bends all the force of his underſtanding, and directs all his thoughts and actions to the good of his country. When ſuch a man forms a political ſcheme, and adjuſts various and ſeemingly independent parts in it, to one great and good deſign, he is tranſported by imagination, or abſorbed in meditation, as much and as agreeably as they: and the ſatisfaction that ariſes from the different importance of theſe objects, in every ſtep of the work, is vaſtly in his favour. It is here that the ſpeculative philoſopher's labour and pleaſure end. But he who ſpeculates in order to *act*, goes on, and carries his ſcheme into execution. His labour continues, it varies, it increaſes; but ſo does his pleaſure too. The execution indeed is often traverſed, by unforeſeen and untoward circumſtances, by the perverſeneſs or treachery of friends, and by the power or malice of enemies: but the firſt and the laſt of theſe animate, and the docility

and

and fidelity of ſome men, make amends for the perverſeneſs and treachery of others. Whilſt a great event is in ſuſpenſe, the action warms, and the very ſuſpenſe, made up of hope and fear, maintains no unpleaſing agitation in the mind. If the event is decided ſucceſsfully, ſuch a man enjoys pleaſure proportionable to the good he has done; a pleaſure like to that which is attributed to the Supreme Being, on a ſurvey of his works. If the event is decided otherwiſe, and uſurping courts, or overbearing parties prevail; ſuch a man has ſtill the teſtimony of his conſcience, and a ſenſe of the honour he has acquired, to ſoothe his mind, and ſupport his courage. For although the courſe of ſtate-affairs be, to thoſe who meddle in them, like a lottery, yet it is a lottery wherein no good man can be a loſer: he may be reviled, it is true, inſtead of being applauded, and may ſuffer violence of many kinds. I will not ſay, like Seneca, that the nobleſt ſpectacle which God can behold, is a virtuous man ſuffering, and ſtruggling with afflictions: but this I will ſay, that the ſecond Cato driven out of the forum, and dragged to priſon, enjoyed more inward pleaſure, and maintained more outward dignity, than they who inſulted him, and who triumphed in the ruin of their country. But the very example of Cato may be urged perhaps againſt what I have inſiſted upon: it may be aſked, what good he did to Rome, by dedicating his whole life to her ſervice? what honour to himſelf by dying at Utica? It may be ſaid, that governments have their periods, like all things human; that they may be brought back to their primitive principles during a certain time,

time, but that when theſe principles are worn out, in the minds of men, it is a vain enterprize to endeavour to renew them: that this is the caſe of all governments, when the corruption of the people comes to a great pitch, and is grown univerſal: that when a houſe which is old, and quite decayed, though often repaired, not only cracks, but totters even from the foundations, every man in his ſenſes runs out of it, and takes ſhelter where he can, and that none but madmen continue obſtinate to repair what is irreparable, till they are cruſhed in the ruin. Juſt ſo, that we muſt content ourſelves to live under the government we like the leaſt, when that form which we like the moſt is deſtroyed, or worn out; according to the counſel of Dolabella in one of his letters to Cicero. But, my Lord, if Cato could not ſave, he prolonged the life of liberty: the liberties of Rome would have been loſt when Catiline attacked them, abetted probably by Cæſar and Craſſus, and the worſt citizens of Rome; and when Cicero defended them, abetted by Cato and the beſt. That Cato erred in his conduct, by giving way too much to the natural roughneſs of his temper, and by allowing too little for that of the Romans, among whom luxury had long prevailed, and corruption was openly practiſed, is moſt true. He was incapable of employing thoſe ſeeming compliances that are reconcileable to the greateſt ſtedcineſs, and treated unſkilfully a crazy conſtitution. The ſafety of the commonwealth depended, in that critical conjuncture, on a *coalition of parties*, the *ſenatorian* and the *equeſtrian*: Tully had formed it, Cato broke it. But if this good

ſo

for I think he was not an able man, erred in the particular reſpects I have ventured to mention, he deſerved moſt certainly the glory he acquired by the general tenor of his conduct, and by dedicating the whole labour of his life to the ſervice of his country. He would have deſerved more if he had perſiſted in maintaining the ſame cauſe to the end, and would have died I think with a better grace at *Munda* than at *Utica*. If this be ſo, if Cato may be cenſured, ſeverely indeed, but juſtly, for abandoning the cauſe of liberty, which he would not however ſurvive; what ſhall we ſay of thoſe who embrace it faintly, purſue it irreſolutely, grow tired of it when they have much to hope, and give it up when they have nothing to fear?

My Lord, I have inſiſted the more on this duty which men owe to their country, becauſe I came out of England, and continue ſtill ſtrongly affected with what I ſaw when I was there. Our government has approached, nearer than ever before, to the true principles of it, ſince the revolution of 1688; and the acceſſion of the preſent family to the throne, has given the faireſt opportunities, as well as the juſteſt reaſons, for compleating the ſcheme of liberty, and improving it to perfection. But it ſeems to me, that, in our ſeparate world, as the means of aſſerting and ſupporting liberty are increaſed, all concern for it is diminiſhed; I beheld, when I was among you, more abject ſervility, in the manners and behaviour of particular men, than I ever ſaw in France, or than has been ſeen there, I believe, ſince the days of that Gaſcon, who, being turned out of the miniſter's door, leaped in again at

at his window. As to bodies of men, I dare challenge your Lordſhip, and I am ſorry for it, to produce any inſtances of reſiſtance to the unjuſt demands, or wanton will of a court, that Britiſh parliaments have given, comparable to ſuch as I am able to cite to the honour of the *parliament of Paris*, and the whole body of the law in that country, within the ſame compaſs of time. This abject ſervility may appear juſtly the more wonderful in Britain, becauſe the government of Britain has, in ſome ſort, the appearance of an oligarchy: and monarchy is rather hid behind it than ſhewn, rather weakened than ſtrengthened, rather impoſed upon than obeyed. The wonder therefore is, to obſerve how imagination and cuſtom, (a giddy fool, and a formal pedant), have rendered theſe cabals, or oligarchies, more reſpected than majeſty itſelf. That this ſhould happen in countries where princes, who have abſolute power, may be tyrants themſelves, or ſubſtitute ſubordinate tyrants, is not wonderful. It has happened often: but that it ſhould happen in Britain, may be juſtly an object of wonder. In theſe countries, the people had loſt the armour of their conſtitution; they were naked and defenceleſs. Ours is more compleat than ever. But though we have preſerved the armour, we have loſt the ſpirit of our conſtitution; and therefore we bear, from little engroſſers of delegated power, what our fathers would not have ſuffered from true proprietors of the royal authority. Parliaments are not only what they always were, eſſential parts of our conſtitution, but eſſential parts of our adminiſtration too. They do not claim the executive power. Nor

But

But the executive power cannot be exerciſed without their annual concurrence. How few months, inſtead of years, have princes and miniſters now to paſs without inſpection and controul? How *eaſy* therefore is it become, to check every growing evil in the bud, to change every bad adminiſtration, to keep ſuch farmers of government in awe, to maintain and revenge, if need be, the conſtitution? It is become ſo eaſy by the preſent form of our government, that corruption *alone* could not deſtroy us. We muſt want *ſpirit*, as well as *virtue*, to periſh. Even able knaves would preſerve liberty in ſuch circumſtances as ours, and highwaymen would ſcorn to receive the wages and do the drudgery of pick-pockets. But all is little, and low, and mean among us! Far from having the *virtues*, we have not even the *vices* of great men. He who had pride inſtead of vanity, and ambition but equal to his deſire of wealth, could never bear, I do not ſay to be the underſtrapper to any farmer of royal authority, but to ſee patiently one of them (at beſt his fellow, perhaps his inferior in every reſpect) lord it over him, and the reſt of mankind, diſſipating wealth, and trampling on the liberties of his country with impunity. This could not happen, if there was the leaſt ſpirit among us. But there is none. What paſſes among us for ambition, is an odd mixture of avarice and vanity: the moderation we have ſeen practiſed is puſillanimity, and the philoſophy that ſome men affect is ſloth. Hence it comes, that corruption has ſpread and prevails.

I expect little from the principal actors that tread the ſtage at preſent. They are divided, not ſo much

much as it has ſeemed, and as they would have it believed, about *meaſures*: the true diviſion is about their different *ends*. Whilſt the miniſter was not hard puſhed, nor the proſpect of ſucceeding to him near, they appeared to have but one end, the reformation of the government. The deſtruction of the miniſter was purſued only as a preliminary, but of eſſential and indiſpenſable neceſſity to that end. But when his deſtruction ſeemed to approach, the *object* of his *ſucceſſion* interpoſed to the ſight of many, and the *reformation* of the *government* was no longer their point of view. They divided the ſkin, at leaſt in their thoughts, before they had taken the beaſt, and the common fear of hunting him down for others, made them all faint in the chace. It was *this*, and this alone, that *has* ſaved him, or *has* put off his evil day. Corruption ſo much, and ſo juſtly complained of, could not have done it *alone*.

When I ſay that I expect little from the principal actors that tread this ſtage at preſent, I am far from applying to all of them, what I take to be true of the far greateſt part. There are men among them who certainly intend the good of their country, and whom I love and honour for that reaſon. But theſe men have been clogged, or miſled, or overborne, by others; and, ſeduced by natural temper to inactivity, have taken any excuſe, or yielded to any pretence that favoured it. That they ſhould rouſe therefore in themſelves, or in any one elſe, the ſpirit they have ſuffered, nay helped to die away, I do not expect. I turn my eyes from the generation that is going off, to the gene-

ration that is coming on the ſtage. I expect good from them, and from none of them more than from you, my Lord. Remember that the oppoſition in which you have engaged, at your firſt entrance into buſineſs, is not an oppoſition only to a bad adminiſtration of public affairs, but to an adminiſtration that ſupports itſelf by means, eſtabliſhes principles, introduces cuſtoms, repugnant to the conſtitution of our government, and deſtructive of all liberty; that you do not only combat preſent evils, but attempts to entail thoſe evils upon you and your poſterity; that if you ceaſe the combat, you give up the cauſe: and that he who does not renew on every occaſion his claim, may forfeit his right.

Our diſputes were formerly, to ſay the truth, much more about perſons than things; or, at moſt, about particular points of political conduct, in which we ſhould have ſoon agreed, if perſons, and perſonal intereſts had been leſs concerned, and the blind prejudice of party leſs prevalent. Whether the Big-endians or the Little-endians got the better, I believe no man of ſenſe and knowledge thought the conſtitution concerned; notwithſtanding all the clamour raiſed at one time about the *danger* of the *church*, and at another about the *danger* of the *Proteſtant ſucceſſion*. But the caſe is at this time vaſtly altered. The means of invading liberty more effectual, by the conſtitution of the *revenue*, than it ever had been invaded by *prerogative*, were not then grown up into ſtrength. They are ſo now; and a bold and an inſolent uſe is made of them. To reform the *ſtate* therefore is, and ought to be, the object of your oppoſition, as well as to reform the

the *adminiſtration*. Why do I ſay as well? It is ſo, and it ought to be ſo much more. Wreſt the power of the government, if you can, out of hands that have employed it weakly and wickedly, ever ſince it was thrown into them, by a ſilly bargain made in one reign, and a corrupt bargain made in another. But do not imagine this to be your ſole, or your principal buſineſs. You owe to your country, to your honour, to your ſecurity, to the preſent and to future ages, that no endeavours of yours be wanting to repair the breach that is made, and is increaſing daily in the conſtitution, and to ſhut up with all the bars and bolts of law, the principal entries through which theſe torrents of corruption have been let in upon us. I ſay the *principal* entries; becauſe, however it may appear in pure ſpeculation, I think it would not be found in practice poſſible, no nor eligible neither, to ſhut them up *all*. As entries of corruption, none of them deſerve to be excepted: but there is a juſt diſtinction to be made, becauſe there is a real difference. *Some* of theſe entries are opened by the abuſe of powers, neceſſary to maintain ſubordination, and to carry on even good government, and therefore neceſſary to be preſerved in the crown, notwithſtanding the abuſe that is ſometimes made of them; for no human inſtitution can arrive at perfection, and the moſt that human wiſdom can do, is to procure the ſame or greater good, at the expence of leſs evil. There will be always ſome evil, either immediate or remote, either in cauſe or conſequence. But there are *other* entries of corruption, and theſe are by much the greateſt, for ſuffering of

which to continue open no reaſon can be aſſigned, or has been pretended to be aſſigned, but that which is to every honeſt and wiſe man a reaſon for ſhutting them up; the increaſe of the means of corruption, which are oftener employed for the ſervice of the oligarchy, than for the ſervice of the monarchy. Shut up *theſe*, and you will have nothing to fear from the *others*. By theſe, a more real and a more dangerous power has been gained to miniſters, than was loſt to the crown by the reſtraints on prerogative.

There have been periods when our government continued free, with ſtrong appearances of becoming abſolute. Let it be your glory, my Lord, and that of the new generation ſpringing up with you, that this government do not become abſolute at any future period, with the appearances of being free. However you may be employed, in all your councils, in all your actions, keep this regard to the conſtitution always in ſight. The ſcene that opens before you is great, and the part that you will have to act difficult. It is difficult indeed to bring men, from ſtrong habits of corruption, to prefer honour to profit, and liberty to luxury; as it is hard to teach princes the great art of governing all by all, or to prevail on them to practiſe it. But if it be a difficult, it is a glorious attempt; an attempt worthy to exert the greateſt talents, and to fill the moſt extended life. Purſue it with courage, my Lord, nor deſpair of ſucceſs.

——Deus hæc fortaſſe benigna
Reducet in ſedem Vice.

A par-

A parliament, nay one houſe of parliament, is able at any time, and at once, to deſtroy any corrupt plan of power. Time produces every day new conjunctures: Be prepared to improve them. We read in the Old Teſtament of a city that might have eſcaped divine vengeance, if five righteous men had been found in it. Let not our city periſh for want of ſo ſmall a number: and if the generation that is going off could not furniſh it, let the generation that is coming on furniſh a greater.

We may reaſonably hope that it will, from the firſt eſſays which your Lordſhip, and ſome others of our young ſenators, have made in public life. You have raiſed the hopes of your country by the proofs you have given of ſuperior parts. Confirm theſe hopes by proofs of uncommon induſtry and application, and perſeverance. Superior parts, nay even ſuperior virtue, without theſe qualities, will be inſufficient to ſupport your character and your cauſe. How many men have appeared in my time, who have made theſe eſſays with ſucceſs, and have made no progreſs afterwards. Some have dropped from their firſt flights down into the vulgar crowd, have been diſtinguiſhed, nay heard of, no more! Others with better parts, perhaps with more preſumption, but certainly with greater ridicule, have perſiſted in making theſe eſſays towards buſineſs all their lives, and have never been able to advance farther, in their political courſe, than a premeditated harangue on ſome choice ſubject. I never ſaw one of theſe important perſons ſit down after his oration, with repeated hear-hims ringing in his ears, and inward rapture glowing in his eyes, that he did not recal

to my memory the ſtory of a conceited member of ſome parliament in France, who was overheard, after his tedious harangue, muttering moſt devoutly to himſelf, *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, ſed nomini tuo da gloriam!*

Eloquence, that leads mankind by the ears, gives a nobler ſuperiority than power, that every dunce may uſe, or fraud, that every knave may employ, to lead them by the noſe. But eloquence muſt flow like a ſtream that is fed by an abundant ſpring, and not ſpout forth a little frothy water on ſome gaudy day, and remain dry the reſt of the year. The famous orators of Greece and Rome were the ſtatesmen and miniſters of thoſe commonwealths. The nature of their governments, and the humour of thoſe ages made elaborate orations neceſſary. They harangued oftener than they debated: and the *ars dicendi* required more ſtudy, and more exerciſe of mind, and of body too, among them, than are neceſſary among us. But as much pains as they took in learning how to conduct the ſtream of eloquence, they took more to enlarge the fountain from which it flowed. Hear Demoſthenes, hear Cicero, thunder againſt Philip, Catiline, and Anthony. I chuſe the example of the firſt, rather than that of Pericles whom he imitated, or of Phocion whom he oppoſed, or of any other conſiderable perſonage in Greece; and the example of Cicero rather than that of Craſſus, or of Hortenſius, or of any other of the great men of Rome: becauſe the eloquence of theſe two has been ſo celebrated, that we are accuſtomed to look upon them almoſt as *meer orators*. They were orators indeed, and no man who has

has a ſoul can read their orations, after the revolution of ſo many ages, after the extinction of the governments, and of the people for whom they were compoſed, without feeling at this hour the paſſions they were deſigned to move, and the ſpirit they were deſigned to raiſe. But if we look into the hiſtory of theſe two men, and conſider the parts they acted, we ſhall ſee them in another light, and admire them in an higher ſphere of action. Demoſthenes had been neglected in his education, by the ſame tutors who cheated him of his inheritance. Cicero was bred with greater advantage: and Plutarch, I think, ſays, that when he firſt appeared, the people uſed to call him, by way of deriſion, the Greek, and the ſcholar. But whatever advantage of this kind the latter might have over the former, and to which of them ſoever you aſcribe the ſuperior genius, the progreſs which both of them made in every part of *political knowledge*, by their induſtry and application, was marvellous. Cicero might be a better philoſoper, but Demoſthenes was no leſs a ſtateſman: and both of them performed actions and acquired fame, above the reach of eloquence alone. Demoſthenes uſed to compare eloquence to a weapon, aptly enough; for eloquence, like every other weapon, is of little uſe to the owner, unleſs he have the force and the ſkill to uſe it. This force, and this ſkill, Demoſthenes had in an eminent degree. Obſerve them in one inſtance among many. It was of mighty importance to Philip to prevent the acceſſion of Thebes to the grand alliance that Demoſthenes, at the head of the Athenian commonwealth, formed againſt the growing

power

power of the Macedonians. Philip had emiſſaries and his ambaſſadors on the ſpot, to oppoſe to thoſe of Athens, and we may be aſſured that he neglected none of thoſe arts, upon this occaſion, that he employed ſo ſucceſsfully on others. The ſtruggle was great, but Demoſthenes prevailed, and the Thebans engaged in the war againſt Philip. Was it by his eloquence alone that he prevailed in a divided ſtate, over all the ſubtilty of intrigue, all the dexterity of negotiation, all the ſeduction, all the corruption, and all the terror, that the ableſt and moſt powerful prince could employ? Was Demoſthenes wholly taken up with compoſing orations, and haranguing the people in this remakable criſis? He harangued them no doubt at Thebes, as well as at Athens, and in the reſt of Greece, where all the great reſolutions of making alliances, waging war, or concluding peace, were determined in democratical aſſemblies. But yet haranguing was, no doubt, the leaſt part of his buſineſs, and eloquence was neither the ſole, nor the principal talent, as the ſtyle of writers would induce us to believe, on which his ſucceſs depended. He muſt have been maſter of other arts, ſubſerviently to which his eloquence was employed, and muſt have had a thorough knowledge of his own ſtate, and of the other ſtates of Greece, of their diſpoſitions, and of their intereſts relatively to one another, and relatively to their neighbours, to the Perſians particularly, with whom he held a correſpondence, not much to his honour: I ſay, he muſt have been maſter of many other arts, and have poſſeſſed an immenſe fund of knowledge, to make his eloquence in every caſe ſucceſsful,

ful, and even pertinent or ſeaſonable in ſome, as well as to direct it, and to furniſh it with matter whenever he thought proper to employ this weapon.

Let us conſider Tully on the greateſt theatre of the known world, and in the moſt difficult circumſtances. We are better acquainted with him than we are with Demoſthenes; for we ſee him nearer, as it were, and in more different lights. How perfect a knowledge had he acquired of the Roman conſtitution of government, eccleſiaſtical and civil; of the original and progreſs, of the general reaſons and particular occaſions of the laws and cuſtoms of his country; of the great rules of equity, and the low practice of courts; of the duty of every magiſtracy and office in the ſtate, from the dictator down to the lictor; and of all the ſteps by which Rome had riſen from her infancy, to liberty, to power, and grandeur, and dominion, as well as of all thoſe by which ſhe began to decline, a little before his age, to that ſervitude which he died for oppoſing, but lived to ſee eſtabliſhed, and in which not her liberty alone, but her power, and grandeur, and dominion, were loſt? How well was he acquainted with the Roman colonies and provinces, with the allies and enemies of the empire, with the rights and privileges of the former, the diſpoſitions and conditions of the latter, with the intereſts of them all relatively to Rome, and with the intereſts of Rome relatively to them? How preſent to his mind were the anecdotes of former times, concerning the Roman and other ſtates, and how curious was he to obſerve the minuteſt circumſtances that paſſed in his own? His works will anſwer

ſufficiently

ſufficiently the queſtions I aſk, and eſtabliſh in the mind of every man who reads them, the idea I would give of his capacity and knowledge, as well as that which is ſo univerſally taken of his eloquence. To a man fraught with all this ſtock of knowledge, and induſtrious to improve it daily, nothing could happen that was entirely new, nothing for which he was quite unprepared, ſcarce any effect whereof he had not conſidered the cauſe, ſcarce any cauſe wherein his ſagacity could not diſcern the latent effect. His eloquence in private cauſes gave him firſt credit at Rome, but it was this knowledge, this experience, and the continued habits of buſineſs that ſupported his reputation, enabled him to do ſo much ſervice to his country, and gave force and authority to his eloquence. To little purpoſe would he have attacked Catiline with all the vehemence that indignation, and even fear added to eloquence, if he had truſted to this weapon alone. This weapon alone would have ſecured neither him nor the ſenate from the poinard of that aſſaſſin. He would have had no occaſion to boaſt, that he had driven this infamous citizen out of the walls of Rome, *abiit, exceſſit, evaſit, erupit*, if he had not made it before-hand impoſſible for him to continue any longer in them. As little occaſion would he have had to aſſume the honour of defeating without any tumult, or any diſorder, the deſigns of thoſe who conſpired to murder the Roman people, to deſtroy the Roman empire, and to extinguiſh the Roman name; if he had not united by ſkill and management, in the common cauſe of their country, orders of men the moſt averſe to each other; if he

had

had not watched all the machinations of the conſpirators in ſilence, and prepared a ſtrength ſufficient to reſiſt them at Rome, and in the provinces, before he opened this ſcene of villany to the ſenate and the people: in a word, if he had not made much more uſe of political prudence, that is, of the knowledge of mankind, and of the arts of government, which ſtudy and experience give, than of all the powers of his eloquence.

Such was Demoſthenes, ſuch was Cicero, ſuch were all the great men whoſe memories are preſerved in hiſtory, and ſuch muſt every man be, or endeavour to be, if he has either ſenſe or ſentiment, who preſumes to meddle in affairs of government, of a free government I mean, and hopes to maintain a diſtinguiſhed character in popular aſſemblies, whatever part he takes, whether that of ſupporting, or that of oppoſing. I put the two caſes purpoſely, my Lord, becauſe I have obſerved, and your Lordſhip will have frequent occaſions of obſerving, many perſons who ſeem to think, that oppoſition to an adminiſtration requires fewer preparatives, and leſs conſtant application than the conduct of it. Now, my Lord, I take this to be a groſs error, and I am ſure it has been a fatal one. It is one of thoſe errors, and there are many ſuch, which men impute to judgement, and which proceed from the defect of judgement, as this does from lightneſs, irreſolution, lazineſs, and a falſe notion of oppoſition; unleſs the perſons, who ſeem to think, do not really think in this manner, but ſerving the public purely for intereſt, and not for fame, nor for duty, decline taking the ſame pains, when they oppoſe without

without perſonal and immediate reward, as they are willing to take when they are paid for ſerving. Look about you, and you will ſee men eager to ſpeak, and keen to act, when particular occaſions preſs them, or particular motives excite them, but quite unprepared for either: and hence all that ſuperficiality in ſpeaking, for want of information, hence all that confuſion or inactivity, for want of concert, and all that diſappointment for want of preliminary meaſures. They who affect to head an oppoſition, or to make any conſiderable figure in it, muſt be equal at leaſt to thoſe whom they oppoſe; I do not ſay in parts only, but in application and induſtry, and the fruits of both, information, knowledge, and a certain conſtant preparedneſs for all the events that may ariſe. Every adminiſtration is a ſyſtem of conduct: oppoſition therefore ſhould be a ſyſtem of conduct likewiſe; an oppoſite, but not a dependent ſyſtem. I ſhall explain myſelf better by an example. When two armies take the field, the generals on both ſides have their different plans for the campaign, either of defence or of offence; and as the former does not ſuſpend his meaſures till he is attacked, but takes them beforehand on every probable contingency, ſo the latter does not ſuſpend his, till the opportunity of attacking preſents itſelf, but is alert, and conſtantly ready to ſeize it, whenever it happens; and in the mean time is buſy to improve all the advantages of ſkill, of force, or of any other kind that he has, or that he can acquire, independently of the plan, and of the motions, of his enemy.

In

In a word, my Lord, this is my notion, and I ſubmit it to you. According to the preſent form of our conſtitution, every member of either houſe of parliament is a member of a national ſtanding council, born, or appointed by the people, to promote good, and to oppoſe bad government; and, if not veſted with the power of a miniſter of ſtate, yet veſted with the ſuperior power of controuling thoſe who are appointed ſuch by the crown. It follows from hence, that they who engage in oppoſition, are under as great obligations to prepare themſelves to controul, as they who ſerve the crown are under, to prepare themſelves to carry on the adminiſtration: and that a party formed for this purpoſe, do not act like good citizens nor honeſt men, unleſs they *propoſe true*, as well as *oppoſe falſe* meaſures of government. Sure I am they do not act like wiſe men, unleſs they act ſyſtematically, and unleſs they contraſt, on every occaſion, that ſcheme of policy which the public intereſt requires to be followed, with that which is ſuited to no intereſt but the private intereſt of the prince or his miniſters. Cunning men (ſeveral ſuch there are among you) will diſlike this conſequence, and object, that ſuch a conduct would ſupport, under the appearance of oppoſing, a weak and even a wicked adminiſtration; and that, to proceed in this manner, would be to give good counſel to a bad miniſter, and to extricate him out of diſtreſſes that ought to be improved to his ruin. But cunning pays no regard to virtue, and is but the low mimic of wiſdom. It were eaſy to demonſtrate what I have aſſerted concerning the duty of an oppoſing party: and, I preſume, there

is no need of labouring to prove, that a party who oppoſed ſyſtematically, a wiſe to a filly, an honeſt to an iniquitous, ſcheme of government, would acquire greater reputation and ſtrength, and arrive more ſurely at their end, than a party who oppoſed occaſionally, as it were, without any common ſyſtem, without any general concert, with little uniformity, little preparation, little perſeverance, and as little knowledge, or political capacity. But it is time to leave this invidious ſubject, and to haſten to the concluſion of my letter before it grows into a book.

I am, my Lord, &c.

LETTER

LETTER II.

THE

IDEA

OF A

PATRIOT KING.

INTRODUCTION.

Dec. 1. 1738.

REviſing ſome letters I writ to my Lord * * *, I found in one of them a great deal ſaid concerning the *duties* which men owe to their *country*; thoſe men particularly who live under a *free conſtitution* of government; with a ſtrong application of theſe general doctrines to the *preſent ſtate* of Great Britain, and to the *characters* of the preſent actors on this ſtage.

I ſaw no reaſon to alter, none even to ſoften, any thing that is there advanced. On the contrary, it came into my mind to carry theſe conſiderations further, and to delineate, for I pretend not to make a perfect draught, the *duties of a king to his country*; of thoſe kings particularly who are appointed by the people, for I know of none who are anointed by God, to rule in *limited monarchies*. After which, I propoſed to apply the general doctrines in this caſe, as ſtrongly, and as directly, as in the other, to the *preſent ſtate* of Great Britain.

I am not one of thoſe oriental ſlaves, who deem it unlawful preſumption to look their kings in the face; neither am I ſwayed by my Lord Bacon's authority to think this cuſtom good and reaſonable in its meaning, though it ſavours of barbariſm in its inſtitution: *Ritu quidem barbarus, ſed ſignificatione bonus.* Much otherwiſe: It ſeems to me that no ſecrets are ſo important to be known, no hearts deſerve to be pryed into with more curioſity and attention, than thoſe of princes. But many things have concurred, beſides age and temper, to ſet me at a great diſtance from the preſent court. Far from prying into the hearts, I ſcarce know the faces, of our royal family. I ſhall therefore decline all application to their characters, and all mention of any influence which their characters may have on their own fortune, or on that of this nation.

The principles I have reaſoned upon in my letter to my Lord ***, and thoſe I ſhall reaſon upon here, are the ſame. They are laid in the ſame ſyſtem of human nature. They are drawn from that ſource from whence all the duties of public and private morality muſt be derived, or they will be often falſely, and always precarioufly eſtabliſhed. Up to this ſource there are few men who take the pains to go: and, open as it lies, there are not many who can find their way to it. By ſuch as you, I ſhall be underſtood, and approved; and far from fearing the cenſure or the ridicule, I ſhould reproach myſelf with the applauſe, of men who meaſure their intereſts by the paſſions, and their duty by the examples of a corrupt age; that is, by the examples they afford to one another. Such I think are the

greateſt

greateſt part of the preſent generation; not of the vulgar alone, but of thoſe who ſtand foremoſt, and are raiſed higheſt in our nation. Such we may juſtly apprehend too that the next will be, ſince they who are to compoſe it will ſet out into the world under a direction that muſt incline them ſtrongly to the ſame courſe of ſelf-intereſt, profligacy, and corruption.

The iniquity of all the principal men in any community, of kings and miniſters eſpecially, does not conſiſt alone in the crimes they commit, and in the immediate conſequences of theſe crimes: and therefore their guilt is not to be meaſured by theſe alone. Such men ſin againſt poſterity, as well as againſt their own age; and when the conſequences of their crimes are over, the conſequences of their example remain. I think, and every wiſe and honeſt man in generations yet unborn will think, if the hiſtory of —'s adminiſtration deſcends to blacken our annals, that the greateſt iniquity of the miniſter, on whom the whole iniquity ought to be charged, ſince he has been ſo long in poſſeſſion of the whole power, is the conſtant endeavour he has employed to corrupt the *morals* of *men*. I ſay thus generally the *morals*, becauſe he who abandons or betrays his country, will abandon or betray his friend; and becauſe he who is prevailed on to act in parliament, without any regard to truth or juſtice, will eaſily prevail on himſelf to act in the ſame manner every where elſe. A wiſer and honeſter adminiſtration may relieve our trade from that oppreſſion, and the public from that load of debt under which it muſt be ſuppoſed that he has induſtriouſly

ouſly kept it; becauſe we are able to prove, by fair calculations, that he might have provided effectually for the payment of it, ſince he came to the head of the treaſury. A wiſer and honeſter adminiſtration may draw us back to our former credit and influence abroad, from that ſtate of contempt into which we are ſunk among all our neighbours. But will the *minds* of *men*, which this miniſter has narrowed to perſonal regards alone, will their *views*, which he has confined to the preſent moment, as if nations were mortal like the men who compoſe them, and Britain was to periſh with her degenerate children; will theſe, I ſay, be ſo *eaſily* or ſo *ſoon* enlarged? Will their *ſentiments*, which are debaſed from the love of liberty, from zeal for the honour and proſperity of their country, and from a deſire of honeſt fame, to an abſolute unconcernedneſs for all theſe, to an abject ſubmiſſion, and to a rapacious eagerneſs after wealth that may ſate their avarice, and exceed the profuſion of their luxury; will theſe, I ſay again, be ſo *eaſily*, or ſo *ſoon elevated?* In a word, will the Britiſh ſpirit, that *ſpirit* which has preſerved liberty hitherto in one corner of the world at leaſt, be ſo *eaſily* or ſo *ſoon reinfuſed* into the Britiſh nation? I think not. We have been long coming to this point of depravation: and the progreſs from confirmed habits of evil is much more ſlow than the progreſs to them. Virtue is not placed on a rugged mountain of difficult and dangerous acceſs, as they who would excuſe the indolence of their temper, or the perverſeneſs of their will, deſire to have it believed; but ſhe is ſeated however on an eminence. We may go up to her with eaſe,

but

but we muſt go up gradually, according to the natural progreſſion of reaſon, who is to lead the way, and to guide our ſteps. On the other hand, if we fall from thence, we are ſure to be hurried down the hill with a blind impetuoſity, according to the natural violence of thoſe appetites and paſſions that cauſed our fall at firſt, and urge it on the faſter, the further they are removed from the controul that before reſtrained them.

To perform, therefore, ſo great a work, as to reinfuſe the *ſpirit* of *liberty*, to reform the *morals*, and to raiſe the *ſentiments* of a people, much time is required: and a work which requires ſo much time may too probably be never compleated; conſidering how unſteadily and unſyſtematically even the beſt of men are apt often to proceed; and how this reformation is to be carried forward in oppoſition to public faſhion, and private inclination, to the authority of the men in power, and to the ſecret bent of many of thoſe who are out of power. Let us not flatter ourſelves; I did ſo too long. It is more to be wiſhed than to be hoped, that the contagion ſhould ſpread no farther than that leprous race, who carry on their ſkins, expoſed to public ſight, the ſcabs and blotches of their diſtemper. The miniſter preaches corruption aloud and conſtantly, like an impudent miſſionary of vice: and ſome there are who not only inſinuate, but teach the ſame occaſionally. I ſay, ſome; becauſe I am as far from thinking, that all thoſe who join with him, as that any of thoſe who oppoſe him, wait only to be more authorized, that they may propagate it with greater

ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, and apply it to their own uſe, in their turn.

It ſeems to me, upon the whole matter, that to ſave or redeem a nation under ſuch circumſtances from perdition, nothing leſs is neceſſary than ſome great, ſome extraordinary conjuncture of ill-fortune, or of good, which may *purge*, yet *ſo as by fire*. Diſtreſs from abroad, bankruptcy at home, and other circumſtances of like nature and tendency, may beget univerſal confuſion. Out of confuſion order may ariſe: but it may be the order of a wicked tyranny, inſtead of the order of a juſt monarchy. Either may happen: and ſuch an alternative, at the diſpoſition of fortune, is ſufficient to make a ſtoic tremble! We may be ſaved indeed by means of a very different kind; but theſe means will not offer themſelves, this way of ſalvation will not be opened to us, without the concurrence, and the influence of a Patriot King, the moſt uncommon of all phænomena in the phyſical or moral world.

Nothing can ſo ſurely and ſo effectually reſtore the virtue and public ſpirit, eſſential to the preſervation of liberty, and the national proſperity, as the reign of ſuch a prince.

We are willing to indulge this pleaſing expectation, and there is nothing we deſire more ardently than to be able to hold of a Britiſh prince, without flattery, the ſame language that was held of a Roman emperor, with a great deal,

Nil orituram ahas, nil ortum tale fatemur.

But

But let us not neglect, on our part, ſuch means as are in our power, to keep the cauſe of truth, of reaſon, of virtue, and of liberty, alive. If the bleſſing be withheld from us, let us deſerve at leaſt that it ſhould be granted to us. If heaven in mercy beſtows it on us, let us prepare to receive it, to improve it, and to co-operate with it.

I ſpeak as if I could take my ſhare in theſe glorious efforts. Neither ſhall I recal my words. Stripped of the rights of a Britiſh ſubject, of all except the meaneſt of them, that of inheriting, I remember that I am a Britain ſtill. I apply to myſelf what I have read in Seneca, *Officia ſi civis amiſerit, hominis exerceat* I have renounced the world, not in ſhew, but in reality, and more by my way of thinking than by my way of living, as retired as that may ſeem. But I have not renounced my country, nor my friends; and by my friends I mean all thoſe, and thoſe alone, who are ſuch to their country, by whatever name they have been, or may be ſtill diſtinguiſhed: and though in that number there ſhould be men, of whoſe paſt ingratitude, injuſtice, or malice, I might complain on my own account with the greateſt reaſon. Theſe I will never renounce. In their proſperity, they ſhall never hear of me; in their diſtreſs, always. In that retreat, wherein the remainder of my days ſhall be ſpent, I may be of ſome uſe to them; ſince even from thence I may adviſe, exhort, and warn them. *Nec enim is ſolus reipub: prodeſt, qui candidatos extrahit, et tuetur reos, et de pace belloq; cenſet; ſed qui juventutem exhortatur: qui, in tanta*

ta bonorum præceptorum inopia, virtute inſtruit animos; qui ad pecuniam luxuriamque curſu ruentes prenſat ac retrahit, et ſi nihil aliud, certe moratur; in privato publicum negotium agit.

LETTER

LETTER II.

The IDEA of a PATRIOT KING.

MY intention is not to introduce what I have to ſay concerning the *duties of kings*, by any nice inquiry into the original of their inſtitution. What is to be known of it will appear plainly enough, to ſuch as are able and can ſpare time to trace it, in the broken traditions which are come down to us of a few nations. But thoſe, who are not able to trace it there, may trace ſomething better and more worthy to be known, in their own thoughts: I mean what this inſtitution ought to have been, whenever it began, according to the rule of reaſon, founded in the common rights, and intereſts, of mankind. On this head it is quite neceſſary to make ſome reflections, that will, like angular ſtones laid on a rock, ſupport the little fabric, the model however of a great building, that I propoſe to raiſe.

So plain a matter could never have been rendered intricate and voluminous, had it not been for lawleſs ambition, extravagant vanity, and the deteſtable ſpirit of tyranny; abetted by the private in-

tereſts of artful men, by adulation and ſuperſtition, two vices to which that ſtaring and timid creature man is exceſſively prone; if authority had not impoſed on ſuch as did not pretend to reaſon; and if ſuch as did attempt to reaſon had not been caught in the common ſnares of ſophiſm, and bewildered in the labyrinths of diſputation. In this caſe, therefore, as in all thoſe of great concernment, the ſhorteſt and the ſureſt method of arriving at real knowledge is to unlearn the leſſons we have been taught, to remount to firſt principles, and take no body's word about them; for it is about them that almoſt all the jugling and legerdemain, employed by men whoſe trade it is to deceive, are ſet to work.

Now he who does ſo, in this caſe, will diſcover ſoon, that the notions concerning the divine inſtitution and right of kings, as well as the abſolute power belonging to their office, have no foundation in fact or reaſon, but have riſen from an old alliance between eccleſiaſtical and civil policy. The characters of king and prieſt have been ſometimes blended together; and when they have been divided, as kings have found the great effects wrought in government by the empire which prieſts obtain over the conſciences of mankind, ſo prieſts have been taught by experience, that the beſt method to preſerve their own rank, dignity, wealth, and power, all raiſed upon a ſuppoſed *divine right*, is to communicate the ſame pretenſion to kings; and by a fallacy common to both, impoſe their uſurpations on a ſilly world. This they have done: and in the ſtate as in the church, theſe pretenſions to a divine right have been generally carried higheſt by thoſe,

thoſe, who have had the leaſt pretenſion to the divine favour.

It is worth while to obſerve, on what principle ſome men were advanced to a great pre-eminence over others, in the early ages of thoſe nations that are a little known to us: I ſpeak not of ſuch as raiſed themſelves by conqueſt, but of ſuch as were raiſed by common conſent. Now you will find in all theſe proceedings an entire uniformity of principle. The authors of ſuch inventions as were of general uſe to the well-being of mankind, were not only reverenced and obeyed during their lives, but worſhipped after their deaths: they became principal gods, *Dii majorum gentium*. The founders of commonwealths, the law-givers, and the heroes of particular ſtates, became gods of a ſecond claſs, *Dii minorum gentium*. All pre-eminence was given in heaven, as well as on earth, in proportion to the benefits that men received. *Majeſty* was the firſt, and *divinity* the ſecond reward. Both were earned by ſervices done to mankind, whom it was eaſy to lead in thoſe days of ſimplicity and ſuperſtition, from admiration and gratitude, to adoration and expectation.

When advantage had been taken by ſome particular men of theſe diſpoſitions in the generality, and religion and government were become two trades or myſteries, new means of attaining to this pre-eminence were ſoon deviſed, and new and even contrary motives worked the ſame effect. Merit had given rank; but rank was ſoon kept, and, which is more prepoſterous, obtained too, without merit. Men were then made kings for reaſons as little rela-

tive to good government, as the neighing of the horſe of the ſon of Hyſtaſpes.

But the moſt prevalent, and the general motive was proximity of blood, to the laſt, not to the beſt king. Nobility in China mount upwards, and he who has it conferred upon him, enobles his anceſtors, not his poſterity. A wiſe inſtitution! and eſpecially among a people in whoſe minds a great veneration for their forefathers has been always carefully maintained. But in China, as well as in moſt other countries, royalty has deſcended, and kingdoms have been reckoned the patrimonies of particular families.

I have read in one of the hiſtorians of the latter Roman empire, hiſtorians, by the way, that I will not adviſe others to miſpend their time in reading, that Sapores the famous king of Perſia, againſt whom Julian made the expedition wherein he loſt his life, was crowned in his mother's womb. His father left her with child, the magi declared that the child would be a male; whereupon the royal enſigns were brought forth, they were placed on her majeſty's belly, and the princes and the ſatrapes proſtrate recognized the embryo-monarch. But to take a more known example out of multitudes that preſent themſelves, Domitian the worſt, and Trajan the beſt of princes, were promoted to the empire by the ſame title. Domitian was the ſon of Flavius, and the brother, though poſſibly the priſoner too, of Titus Veſpaſian: Trajan was the adopted ſon Nerva. Hereditary right ſerved the purpoſe of one, as well as of the other: and if Trajan was tranſlated to a place among the gods, this was no greater a dif-

a diſtinction than ſome of the worſt of his predeceſſors and his ſucceſſors obtained, for reaſons generally as good as that which Seneca puts into the mouth of Dieſpiter in the apokolokyntoſis of Claudius, *Cum ſit e republica eſſe aliquem qui cum Romulo poſſit ferventia rapa vorare.* To ſay the truth, it would have been a wiſer meaſure to have made theſe royal perſons gods at once: as gods they would have done neither good or hurt; but as emperors, in their way to divinity, they acted like devils.

If my readers are ready by this time to think me antimonarchial, and in particular an enemy to the ſucceſſion of kings by hereditary right, I hope to be ſoon reſtord to their good opinion. I eſteem monarchy above any other form of government, and hereditary monarchy above elective. I reverence kings, their office, their rights, their perſons; and it will never be owing to the principles I am going to eſtabliſh, becauſe the character and government of a *patriot king* can be eſtabliſhed on no other, if their office and their right are not always held divine, and their perſons always ſacred.

Now we are ſubject, by the conſtitution of human nature, and therefore by the will of the Author of this and every other nature, to two laws. One given immediately to all men by God, the ſame to all, and obligatory alike on all. The other given to man by man; and therefore not the ſame to all, nor obligatory alike on all: founded indeed on the ſame principles, but varied by different applications of them to times, to characters, and to a number which may be reckoned infinite, of other circumſtances. By the firſt you ſee, that I mean

the univerſal law of reaſon: and by the ſecond the particular law, or conſtitution of laws, by which every diſtinct community has choſen to be governed.

The obligation of ſubmiſſion to both, is diſcoverable by ſo clear and ſo ſimple an uſe of our intellectual faculties, that it may be ſaid properly enough to be "revealed to us by God;" and tho' both theſe laws cannot be ſaid properly to be given by Him, yet our obligation to ſubmit to the civil law is a principal paragraph in the natural law, which he has moſt manifeſtly given us. In truth we can no more doubt of the obligations of both theſe laws, than of the exiſtence of the lawgiver. As ſupreme Lord over all his works, his general providence regards immediately the great commonwealth of mankind; but then, as ſupreme Lord likewiſe, his authority gives a ſanction to the particular bodies of law which are made under it. The law of nature is the law of all his ſubjects: the conſtitutions of particular governments are like the by-laws of cities, or the appropriated cuſtoms of provinces. It follows, therefore, that he who breaks the laws of his country reſiſts the ordinance of God, that is, the law of his nature. God has inſtituted neither monarchy, nor ariſtocracy, nor democracy, nor mixed government: but though God has inſtituted no particular form of goverment among men, yet by the general laws of his kingdom, he exacts our obedience to the laws of thoſe communities to which each of us is attached by birth, or to which we may be attached by a ſubſequent and lawful engagement.

From ſuch plain, unrefined, and therefore I ſuppoſe

poſe true reaſoning, the juſt authority of kings, and the due obedience of ſubjects, may be deduced with the utmoſt certainty. And ſurely it is far better for kings themſelves to have their authority thus founded on principles inconteſtible, and on fair deductions from them, than on the chimeras of madmen, or, what has been more common, the ſophiſms of knaves. A human right, that cannot be controverted, is preferable ſurely to a pretended divine right, which every man muſt believe, implicitly, as few will do, or not believe at all.

But the principles we have laid down do not ſtop here. A divine right in kings is to be deduced evidently from them. A divine right to govern well, and conformably to the conſtitution at the head of which they are placed. A divine right to govern ill, is an abſurdity: to aſſert it, is blaſphemy. A people may chuſe, or hereditary ſucceſſion may raiſe, a bad prince to the throne; but a good king alone can derive his right to govern from God. The reaſon is plain: good government alone can be in the divine intention. God has made us to deſire happineſs; he has made our happineſs dependent on ſociety; and the happineſs of ſociety dependent on good or bad government. His intention therefore was, that government ſhould be good.

This is eſſential to his wiſdom; for wiſdom conſiſts ſurely in proportioning means to ends: therefore it cannot be ſaid without abſurd impiety, that he confers a right to oppoſe his intention.

The office of kings is then of right divine, and their perſons are to be reputed ſacred. As men, they have no ſuch right, no ſuch ſacredneſs belonging

ing to them: as kings they have both, unleſs they forfeit them. Reverence for government obliges to reverence governors, who, for the ſake of it, are raiſed above the level of other men: but reverence for governors, independently of government, any further than reverence would be due to their virtues if they were private men, is prepoſterous, and repugnant to common ſenſe. The ſpring from which this legal reverence, for ſo I may call it, ariſes, is national, not perſonal. As well might we ſay that a ſhip is built, and loaded, and manned, for the ſake of any particular pilot, inſtead of acknowledging that the pilot is made for the ſake of the ſhip, her lading, and her crew, who are always the owners in the political veſſel, as to ſay that kingdoms were inſtituted for kings, not kings for kingdoms. In ſhort, and to carry our alluſion higher, majeſty is not an inherent, but a reflected light.

All this is as true of elective, as it is of hereditary monarchs; though the ſcriblers for tyranny, under the name of monarchy, would have us believe that there is ſomething more auguſt, and more ſacred in one than the other. They are ſacred alike, and this attribute is to be aſcribed, or not aſcribed to them, as they anſwer, or do not anſwer, the *ends* of their inſtitution. But there is another compariſon to be made, in which a great and moſt important diſſimilitude will be found between the hereditary and elective monarchy. Nothing can be more abſurd in pure ſpeculation, than an hereditary right in any mortal to govern other men: and yet, in practice, nothing can be more abſurd than to have a king to chuſe at every vacan-

cy

ey of a throne. We draw at a lottery indeed in one caſe, where there are many chances to loſe, and few to gain. But have we much more advantage of this kind in the other? I think not. Upon theſe, and upon moſt occaſions, the multitude would do at leaſt as well to truſt to chance as choice, and to their fortune as to their judgment. But in another reſpect the advantage is entirely on the ſide of hereditary ſucceſſion: for in elective monarchies, theſe elections, whether well or ill made, are often attended with ſuch national calamities, that even the beſt reigns cannot make amends for them; whereas in hereditary monarchy, whether a good or a bad prince ſucceeds, theſe calamities are avoided. There is one ſource of evil the leſs open: and one ſource of evil the leſs in human affairs, where there are ſo many, is ſufficient to decide. We may lament the imperfections of our human ſtate, which is ſuch, that in caſes of the utmoſt importance to the order and good government of ſociety, and by conſequence to the happineſs of our kind, we are reduced, by the very conſtitution of our nature, to have no part to take that our reaſon can approve abſolutely. But though we lament it, we muſt ſubmit to it. We muſt tell ourſelves once for all, that perfect ſchemes are not adapted to our imperfect ſtate; that Stoical morals and Platonic politics are nothing better than amuſements for thoſe who have had little experience in the affairs of the world, and who have much leiſure, *verbo otioſorum ſenum ad imperitos juvenes*; which was the cenſure, and a juſt one too, that Dionyſius paſt on ſome of the doctrines of the father of the academy. In truth, all that human prudence

dence can do, is to furnish expedients, and to compound as it were with general vice and folly; employing reason to act even against her own principles, and teaching us, if I may say so, *insanire cum ratione*, which appears on many occasions not to be the paradox it has been thought.

To conclude this head therefore, as I think a limited monarchy the best of governments, so I think an hereditary monarchy the best of monarchies. I said a *limited monarchy*; for an unlimited monarchy, wherein arbitrary will, which is in truth no rule, is however the sole rule, or stands instead of all rule of government, is so great an absurdity, both in reason informed or uninformed by experience, that it seems a government fitter for savages than for civilized people.

But I think it proper to explain a little more what I mean, when I say a limited monarchy, that I may leave nothing untouched which ought to be taken into consideration by us, when we attempt to fix our ideas of a *patriot king*.

Among many reasons which determine me to prefer monarchy to every form of government, this is a principal one. When monarchy is the essential form, it may be more easily and more usefully tempered with aristocracy or democracy, or both, than either of them, when they are the essential forms, can be tempered with monarchy. It seems to me, that the introduction of a real permanent monarchical power, or any thing more than the pageantry of it, into either of these, must destroy them and extinguish them, as a great light extinguishes a less. Whereas it may easily be shewn, and the true form of our government will demonstrate, without seeking

ing any other example, that very conſiderable ariſtocratical and democratical powers may be grafted on a monarchical ſtock, without diminiſhing the luſtre, or reſtraining the power and authority of the prince, enough to alter in any degree the eſſential form.

A great difference is made in nature, and therefore the diſtinction ſhould be always preſerved in our notions, between two things that we are apt to confound in ſpeculation, as they have been confounded in practice, legiſlative and monarchical power. There muſt be an abſolute, unlimited, and uncontroulable power lodged ſomewhere in every government; but to conſtitute monarchy, or the government of a ſingle perſon, it is not neceſſary that this power ſhould be lodged in the monarch alone. It is no more neceſſary that he ſhould excluſively and independently eſtabliſh the rule of his government, than it is, that he ſhould govern without any rule at all: and this ſurely will be thought reaſonable by no man.

I would not ſay God governs by a rule that we know, or may know as well as he, and upon our knowledge of which he appeals to men for the juſtice of his proceedings towards them; which a famous divine has impiouſly advanced, in a pretended demonſtration of his being and attributes. God forbid! But this I may ſay, that God does always that which is fitteſt to be done, and that this fitneſs, whereof neither that preſumptuous dogmatiſt was, nor any created being is, a competent judge, reſults from the various natures, and more various relations of things; ſo that, as creator of all ſyſtems by which

which theſe natures and relations are conſtituted, he preſcribed to himſelf the rule, which he follows as governor of every ſyſtem of being. In ſhort, with reverence be it ſpoken, God is a monarch, yet not an arbitrary but a limited monarch, limited by the rule which infinite wiſdom preſcribes to infinite power. I know well enough the impropriety of theſe expreſſions; but when our ideas are inadequate, our expreſſions muſt needs be improper. Such conceptions however as we are able to form of theſe attributes, and of the exerciſe of them in the government of the univerſe, may ſerve to ſhew what I have produced them to ſhew. If governing without any rule, and by arbitrary will, be not eſſential to our idea of the monarchy of the Supreme Being, it is plainly ridiculous to ſuppoſe them neceſſarily included in the idea of a human monarchy: and though God in his eternal ideas, for we are able to conceive no other manner of knowing, has preſcribed to himſelf that rule by which he governs the univerſe he created; it will be juſt as ridiculous to affirm, that the idea of human monarchy cannot be preſerved, if kings are obliged to govern according to a rule eſtabliſhed by the wiſdom of a ſtate, that was a ſtate before they were kings, and by the conſent of a people that they did not moſt certainly create; eſpecially when the whole executive power is excluſively in their hands, and the legiſlative power cannot be exerciſed without their concurrence.

There are limitations indeed that would deſtroy the eſſential form of monarchy: or, in other words, a monarchical conſtitution may be changed, under pretence

pretence of limiting the monarch. This happened among us in the laſt century, when the vileſt uſurpation, and the moſt infamous tyranny, were eſtabliſhed over our nation, by ſome of the worſt and ſome of the meaneſt men in it. I will not ſay, that the eſſential form of monarchy ſhould be preſerved, though the preſervation of it were to cauſe the loſs of liberty. *Salus reip. ſuprema lex eſto*, is a fundamental law: and ſure I am, the ſafety of a commonwealth is ill-provided for, if the liberty be given up. But this I preſume to ſay, and can demonſtrate, that all the limitations neceſſary to preſerve liberty, as long as the ſpirit of it ſubſiſts, and longer than that, no limitations of monarchy, nor any other form of government, can preſerve it, are compatible with monarchy. I think on theſe ſubjects, neither as the Tories, nor as the Whigs have thought: at leaſt I endeavour to avoid the exceſſes of both. I neither dreſs up kings like ſo many burleſque Jupiters, weighing the fortunes of mankind in the ſcales of fate, and darting thunderbolts at the heads of rebellious giants: nor do I ſtrip them naked, as it were, and leave them at moſt a few tattered rags to clothe their majeſty, but ſuch as can ſerve really as little for uſe as for ornament. My aim is to fix this principle, that limitations on a crown ought to be carried as far as it is neceſſary to ſecure the liberties of a people; and that all ſuch limitations may ſubſiſt, without weakening or endangering monarchy.

I ſhall be told perhaps, for I have heard it ſaid by many, that this point is imaginary, and that limitations ſufficient to procure good government, and

to ſecure liberty under a bad prince, cannot be made, unleſs they are ſuch as will deprive the ſubjects of many benefits in the reign of a good prince, clog his adminiſtration, maintain an unjuſt jealouſy between him and his people, and occaſion a defect of power, neceſſary to preſerve the public tranquillity, and to promote the national proſperity. If this was true, here would be a much more melancholy inſtance of the imperfections of our nature, and of the inefficacy of our reaſon to ſupply this imperfection, than the former. In the former, reaſon prompted by experience avoids a certain evil effectually, and is able to provide, in ſome meaſure, againſt the contingent evils that may ariſe from the expedient itſelf. But in the latter, if what is there advanced was true, theſe proviſions againſt contingent evils would in ſome caſes, be the occaſions of much certain evil, and of poſitive good in none: under a good prince they would render the adminiſtration defective; and under a bad one there would be no government at all. But the truth is widely different from this repreſentation. The limitations neceſſary to preſerve liberty under monarchy will reſtrain effectually a bad prince, without being ever felt as ſhackles by a good one. Our conſtitution is brought, or almoſt brought, to ſuch a point, a point of perfection I think it, that no king who is not, in the true meaning of the word, a *patriot*, can govern Britain with eaſe, ſecurity, honour, dignity, or indeed with ſufficient power and ſtrength. But yet a king, who is a patriot, may govern with all the former; and beſides them, with power as extended as the moſt abſolute monarch can boaſt, and a

power

power too, far more agreeable in the enjoyment, as well as more effectual in the operation.

To attain theſe great and noble ends, the patriotiſm muſt be real, and not in ſhew alone. It is ſomething to deſire to appear a patriot: and the deſire of having fame is a ſtep towards deſerving it, becauſe it is a motive the more to deſerve it. If it be true, as Tacitus ſays, *Contemptu famæ contemni virtutem*, that a contempt of a good name, or an indifference about it, begets or accompanies always a contempt of virtue, the contrary will be true; and they are certainly both true. But this motive alone is not ſufficient. To conſtitute a patriot, whether king or ſubject, there muſt be ſomething more ſubſtantial than a deſire of fame, in the compoſition: and if there be not, this deſire of fame will never riſe above that ſentiment which may be compared to the coquetry of women; a fondneſs of tranſient applauſe, which is courted by vanity, given by flattery, and ſpends itſelf in ſhew, like the qualities which acquire it. Patriotiſm muſt be founded in great principles, and ſupported by great virtues. The chief of theſe principles I have endeavoured to trace; and I will not ſcruple to aſſert, that a man can be a good king upon no other. He may, without them and by complexion, be unambitious, generous, good-natured; but without them the exerciſe even of theſe virtues will be often ill directed: and with principles of another ſort, he will be drawn eaſily, notwithſtanding theſe virtues, from all the purpoſes of his inſtitution.

I mention theſe oppoſite principles the rather, becauſe, inſtead of wondering that ſo many kings,

unfit and unworthy to be truſted with the government of mankind, appear in the world, I have been tempted to wonder that there are any tolerable: when I have conſidered the flattery that environs them moſt commonly from the cradle, and the tendency of all thoſe falſe notions that are inſtilled into them by precept, and by example, by the habits of courts, and by the intereſted ſelfiſh views of courtiers. They are bred to eſteem themſelves of a *diſtinct* and *ſuperior ſpecies* among *men*, as men are among *animals*.

Lewis the fourteenth was a ſtrong inſtance of the effect of this *education*, which trains up kings to be tyrants, without knowing that they are ſo. That oppreſſion under which he kept his people, during the whole courſe of a long reign, might proceed, in ſome degree, from the natural haughtineſs of his temper; but it proceeded in a greater degree from the principles and habits of his education. By this he had been brought to look on his kingdom as a patrimony that deſcended to him from his anceſtors, and that was to be conſidered in no other light: ſo that when a very conſiderable man had diſcourſed to him at large of the miſerable condition to which his people were reduced, and had frequently uſed the word *l'etat*; though the king approved the ſubſtance of all he had ſaid, yet he was ſhocked at the frequent repetition of this word, and complained of it as a kind of indecency to himſelf. This will not appear ſo ſtrange to our ſecond, as it may very juſtly to our firſt, reflections; for what wonder is it, that princes are eaſily betrayed into an error that takes its riſe in the general imperfection of our nature;

ture, in our pride, our vanity, and our preſumption? the baſtard children, but the children ſtill, of ſelf-love; a ſpurious brood, but often a favourite brood, that governs the whole family. As men are apt to make themſelves the meaſure of all being, ſo they make themſelves the final cauſe of all creation. Thus the reputed orthodox philoſophers in all ages have taught, that the world was made for man, the earth for him to inhabit, and all the luminous bodies in the immenſe expanſe around us, for him to gaze at. Kings do no more, no not ſo much, when they imagine themſelves the final cauſe for which ſocieties were formed, and governments inſtituted.

This capital error, in which almoſt every prince is confirmed by his education, has ſo great extent, and ſo general influence, that a right to do every iniquitous thing in government may be derived from it. But as if this was not enough, the characters of princes are ſpoiled many more ways by their education. I ſhall not deſcend into a detail of ſuch particulars, nor preſume ſo much as to hint what regulations might be made about the education of princes, nor what part our parliaments might take occaſionally in this momentous affair, leſt I ſhould appear too refining, or too preſumptuous, in my ſpeculations. But I may aſſert in general, that the indifference of mankind upon this head, eſpecially in a government conſtituted like ours, is monſtrous.

I may alſo take notice of another cauſe of the miſtakes of princes, I mean the general conduct of thoſe who are brought near to their perſons. Such

men, let me ſay, have a particular duty ariſing from this very ſituation; a duty common to them all, becauſe it ariſes not from their ſtations, which are different, but from their ſituation, which is the ſame. To enumerate the various applications of this duty, would be too minute and tedious; but this may ſuffice, that all ſuch men ſhould bear conſtantly in mind, that the maſter they ſerve is to be the King of their country; that their attachment to him, therefore, is not to be like that of other ſervants to other maſters, for his ſake alone, or for his ſake and their own, but for the ſake of their country likewiſe.

"Craterus loves the king, but Hepheſtion loves "Alexander," was a ſaying of the latter that has been often quoted, but not cenſured as it ought to be. Alexander gave the preference to the attachment of Hepheſtion; but this preference was due undoubtedly to that of Craterus. Attachment to a private perſon muſt comprehend a great concern for his character and his intereſts: but attachment to one who is, or may be a king, much more; becauſe the character of the latter is more important to himſelf and others; and becauſe his intereſts are vaſtly more complicated with thoſe of his country, and in ſome ſort with thoſe of mankind. Alexander himſelf ſeemed, upon one occaſion, to make the diſtinction that ſhould be always made between our attachments to a prince, and to any private perſon. It was when Parmenio adviſed him to accept the terms of peace which Darius offered: they were great, he thought them ſo; but he thought, no matter for my purpoſe whether juſtly or not, that

it

it would be unbecoming him to accept them; therefore he rejected them, but acknowledged, that "he "would have done as he was adviſed to do, if he "had been Parmenio."

As to perſons who are not about a prince in the ſituation here ſpoken of, they can do little more than proportion their applauſe, and the demonſtrations of their confidence and affection, to the benefits they actually receive from the prince on the throne, or to the juſt expectations that a ſucceſſor gives them. It is of the latter I propoſe to ſpeak here particularly. If he gives them thoſe of a good reign, we may aſſure ourſelves that they will carry, and in this caſe they ought to carry, that applauſe, and thoſe demonſtrations of their confidence and affection, as high as ſuch a prince himſelf can deſire. Thus the prince and the people take, in effect, a ſort of engagement with one another; the prince to govern well, and the people to honour and obey him. If he gives them expectations of a bad reign, they have this obligation to him at leaſt, that he puts them early on their guard. And an obligation and an advantage it will be, if they prepare for his acceſſion as for a great and inevitable evil; and if they guard on every occaſion againſt the ill uſe they foreſee that he will make of money and power. Above all, they ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be caught in the common ſnare, which is laid under ſpecious pretences of "gaining ſuch a prince, and "of keeping him by public compliances out of bad "hands." That argument has been preſſed more than once, has prevailed, and has been fruitful of moſt pernicious conſequences. None indeed can be more

more abſurd: it is not unlike the reaſoning of thoſe ſavages who worſhip the devil, not becauſe they love him or honour him, or expect any good from him, but that he may do them no hurt. Nay, it is more abſurd; for the ſavages ſuppoſe, that the devil has, independently of them, the power to hurt them: whereas the others put more power into the hands of a prince, becauſe he has already ſome power to hurt them; and truſt to the juſtice and gratitude of one who wants ſenſe, virtue, or both, rather than increaſe and fortify the barriers againſt his folly and his vices.

But the truth is, that men who reaſon and act in this manner, either mean, or elſe are led by ſuch as mean, nothing more than to make a private court at the public expence; who chuſe to be the inſtruments of a bad king, rather than to be out of power; and who are often ſo wicked, that they would prefer ſuch a ſervice to that of the beſt of kings. In fine, theſe reaſons, and every other reaſon for providing againſt a bad reign in proſpect, acquire a new force when one weak or wicked prince is, in the order of ſucceſſion, to follow another of the ſame character. Such proviſions indeed are hardeſt to be obtained, when they are the moſt neceſſary; that is, when the ſpirit of liberty begins to flag in a free people, and when they become diſpoſed by habits that have grown inſenſibly upon them, to a baſe ſubmiſſion. But they are neceſſary too, even when they are eaſieſt to be obtained: that is, when the ſpirit of liberty is in full ſtrength, and a diſpoſition to oppoſe all inſtances of male-adminiſtration, and to reſiſt all attempts on liberty, is univerſal.

In

In both cases, the endeavours of every man who loves his country, will be employed with inceſſant care and conſtancy to obtain them: that good government and liberty may be the better preſerved and ſecured: but, in the latter caſe, for this further reaſon alſo, that the preſervation and ſecurity of theſe may be provided for, not only better, but more conſiſtently with public tranquillity, by conſtitutional methods, and a legal courſe of oppoſition, to the exceſſes of regal or miniſterial power. What I touch upon here might be made extremely plain; and I think the obſervation would appear to be of no ſmall importance: but I ſhould be carried too far from my ſubject, and my ſubject will afford me matter of more agreeable ſpeculation.

It is true, that a prince who gives juſt reaſons to expect that his reign will be that of a Patriot King, may not always meet, and from all perſons, ſuch returns as ſuch expectations deſerve: but they muſt not hinder either the prince from continuing to give them, or the people from continuing to acknowledge them. United, none can hurt them: and if no artifice interrupts, no power can defeat the effects of their perſeverance. It will blaſt many a wicked project, keep virtue in countenance, and vice to ſome degree at leaſt in awe. Nay, if it ſhould fail to have theſe effects, if we ſhould even ſuppoſe a good prince to ſuffer with the people, and in ſome meaſure for them, yet many advantages would accrue to him: for inſtance, the cauſe of the people he is to govern, and his own cauſe, would be made the ſame by their common enemies. He would feel grievances himſelf as a ſubject, before he had the

power

power of impoſing them as a king. He would be formed in that ſchool out of which the greateſt and the beſt of monarchs have come, the ſchool of affliction: and all the vices which had prevailed before his reign, would ſerve as ſo many foils to the glories of it. But I haſten to ſpeak of the greateſt of all theſe advantages, and of that which a Patriot King will eſteem to be ſuch: whoſe ways of thinking and acting to ſo glorious a purpoſe as the re-eſtabliſhment of a free conſtitution, when it has been ſhook by the iniquity of former adminiſtrations, I ſhall endeavour to explain.

What I have here ſaid will paſs among ſome for the reveries of a diſtempered brain, at beſt for the vain ſpeculations of an idle man, who has loſt ſight of the world, or who had never ſagacity enough to diſcern in government the practicable from the impracticable. Will it not be ſaid, that this is adviſing a king to rouſe a ſpirit which may turn againſt himſelf; to reject the ſole expedient of governing a limited monarchy with ſucceſs, to labour to confine, inſtead of labouring to extend his power; to patch up an old conſtitution, which his people are diſpoſed to lay aſide, inſtead of forming a new one more agreeable to them, and more advantageous to him; to refuſe, in ſhort, to be an abſolute monarch, when every circumſtance invites him to it? All theſe particulars, in every one of which the queſtion is begged, will be thus repreſented, and will be then ridiculed as paradoxes fit to be ranked among the *mirabilia et inopinata* of the ſtoics, and ſuch as no man in his ſenſes can maintain in earneſt. Theſe judgements, and theſe reaſonings, may be expected

pected in an age as futile and as corrupt as ours: in an age wherein ſo many betray the cauſe of liberty, and act not only without regard, but in direct oppoſition to the moſt important intereſts of their country; not only occaſionally, by ſurprize, by weakneſs, by ſtrong temptation, or ſly ſeduction, but conſtantly, ſteadily, by deliberate choice, and in purſuance of principles they avow and propagate: in an age when ſo many others ſhrink from the ſervice of their country, or promote it coolly and uncertainly, in ſubordination to their own intereſt and humour, or to thoſe of a party: in an age, when to aſſert the truth is called ſpreading of deluſion, and to aſſert the cauſe of liberty and good government, is termed ſowing of ſedition. But I have declared already my unconcernedneſs at the cenſure or ridicule of ſuch men as theſe; for whoſe ſuppoſed abilities I have much well-grounded contempt, and againſt whoſe real immorality I have as juſt indignation.

Let us come therefore to the bar of reaſon and experience, where we ſhall find theſe paradoxes admitted as plain, and almoſt ſelf-evident propoſitions, and theſe reveries and vain ſpeculations as important truths, confirmed by experience in all ages and all countries.

Machiavel is an author who ſhould have great authority with the perſons likely to oppoſe me. He propoſes to princes the amplification of their power, the extent of their dominion, and the ſubjection of their people, as the ſole objects of their policy. He deviſes and recommends all means that tend to theſe purpoſes, without the conſideration of any duty owing

ing to God or man, or any regard to the morality or immorality of actions. Yet even he declares the affectation of virtue to be useful to princes: he is so far on my side in the present question. The only difference between us is, I would have the virtue real: he requires no more than the appearance of it.

In the tenth chapter of the first book of Discourses, he appears convinced, such is the force of truth, but how consistently with himself let others determine, that the supreme glory of a prince accrues to him who establishes good government and a free constitution; and that a prince, ambitious of fame, must wish to come into possession of a disordered and corrupted state, not to finish the wicked work that others have begun, and to compleat the ruin; but to stop the progress of the first, and to prevent the last. He thinks this not only the true way to fame, but to security and quiet; as the contrary leads, for here is no third way, and a prince must make his option between these two, not only to infamy, but to danger and to perpetual disquietude. He represents those who might establish a commonwealth or a legal monarchy, and who chuse to improve the opportunity of establishing tyranny, that is, monarchy without any rule of law, as men who are deceived by false notions of good, and false appearances of glory, and who are in effect blind to their true interest in every respect: *Ne si auvegono per questo partito quanta fama, quanta gloria, quanto honore, sicurta, quiete, con satisfatione d'animo e' fuggono, et in quanta infamia, vituperio, biasimo, pericolo et inquietudine incorrono.* He touches

touches another advantage which patriot princes reap: and in that he contradicts flatly the main point, on which his half-taught ſcholars inſiſt. He denies, that ſuch princes diminiſh their power by circumſcribing it; and affirms, with truth on his ſide, that Timoleon, and others of the ſame character whom he had cited, poſſeſſed as great authority in their country, with every other advantage beſides, as Dionyſius or Phalaris had acquired, with the loſs of all thoſe advantages. Thus far Machiavel reaſons juſtly; but he takes in only a part of his ſubject, and confines himſelf to thoſe motives that ſhould determine a wiſe prince to maintain liberty, becauſe it is his intereſt to do ſo. He riſes no higher than the conſideration of mere intereſt, of fame, of ſecurity, of quiet, and of power, all perſonal to the prince: and by ſuch motives alone even his favourite Borgia might have been determined, to affect the virtues of a patriot prince: more than which this great doctor in political knowledge would not have required of him. But he is far from going up to that motive which ſhould above all determine a good prince to hold this conduct, becauſe it is his duty to do ſo; a duty that he owes to God by one law, and to his people by another. Now it is with this that I ſhall begin what I intend to offer concerning the ſyſtem of principles and conduct by which a patriot king will govern himſelf and his people. I ſhall not only begin higher, but deſcend into more detail, and keep ſtill in my eye the application of the whole to the conſtitution of Great Britain, even to the preſent ſtate of our nation, and temper of our people.

I think enough has been already ſaid, to eſtabliſh the firſt and true principles of monarchical, and indeed of every other kind of government: and I will ſay with confidence, that no principles but theſe, and ſuch as theſe, can be advanced, which deſerve to be treated ſeriouſly, though Mr. Locke condeſcended to examine thoſe of Filmer, more out of regard to the prejudices of the time, than to the importance of the work. Upon ſuch foundations we muſt conclude, that ſince men were directed by nature to form ſocieties, becauſe they cannot by their nature ſubſiſt without them, nor in a ſtate of individuality: and ſince they were directed in like manner to eſtabliſh governments, becauſe ſocieties cannot be maintained without them, nor ſubſiſt in a ſtate of anarchy; the ultimate end of all governments is the good of the people, for whoſe ſake they were made, and without whoſe conſent they could not have been made. In forming ſocieties, and ſubmitting to government, men give up part of that liberty to which they are all born, and all alike. But why? Is government incompatible with a full enjoyment of liberty? By no means. But becauſe popular liberty, without government, will degenerate into licence, as government, without ſufficient liberty, will degenerate into tyranny, they are mutually neceſſary to each other, good government to ſupport legal liberty, and legal liberty to preſerve good government.

I ſpeak not here of people, if any ſuch there are, who have been ſavage or ſtupid enough to ſubmit to tyranny by original contract; nor of thoſe nations on whom tyranny has ſtolen as it were imperceptibly

bly, or been impoſed by violence, and ſettled by preſcription. I ſhall exerciſe no political caſuiſtry about the rights of ſuch kings, and the obligations of ſuch people. Men are to take their lots, perhaps, in governments as in climates, to fence againſt the inconveniencies of both, and to bear what they cannot alter. But I ſpeak of people who have been wiſe and happy enough to eſtabliſh, and to preſerve, free conſtitutions of government, as the people of this iſland have done. To theſe therefore I ſay, that their kings are under the moſt ſacred obligations that human law can create, and divine law authorize, to defend and maintain, in the firſt place, and preferably to every other conſideration, the freedom of ſuch conſtitutions.

The good of the people is the ultimate and true end of government. Governors are therefore appointed for this end, and the civil conſtitution which appoints them, and inveſts them with their power, is determined to do ſo by that law of nature and reaſon, which has determined the end of government, and which admits this form of government as the proper mean of arriving at it. Now the greateſt good of a people is their liberty: and in the caſe here referred to, the people has judged it ſo, and provided for it accordingly. Liberty is to the collective body, what health is to every individual body. Without health no pleaſure can be taſted by man: without liberty no happineſs can be enjoyed by ſociety. The obligation, therefore, to defend and maintain the freedom of ſuch conſtitutions, will appear moſt ſacred to a patriot king.

Kings who have weak underſtandings, bad hearts, and ſtrong prejudices, and all theſe, as it often happens, inflamed by their paſſions, and rendered incurable by their ſelf-conceit and preſumption; ſuch kings are apt to imagine, and they conduct themſelves ſo as to make many of their ſubjects imagine, that the king and the people in free governments are rival powers, who ſtand in competition with one another, who have different intereſts, and muſt of courſe have different views: that the rights and privileges of the people are ſo many ſpoils taken from the right and prerogative of the crown; and that the rules and laws made for the exerciſe and ſecurity of the former, are ſo many diminutions of their dignity, and reſtraints on their power.

A patriot king will ſee all this in a far different and much truer light. The conſtitution will be conſidered by him as one law, conſiſting of two tables, containing the rule of his government, and the meaſure of his ſubjects obedience; or as one ſyſtem compoſed of different parts and powers, but all duly proportioned to one another, and conſpiring by their harmony to the perfection of the whole. He will make one, and but one diſtinction between his rights and thoſe of his people: he will look on his to be a truſt, and theirs a property. He will diſcern, that he can have a right to no more than is truſted to him by the conſtitution: and that his people, who had an original right to the whole by the law of nature, can have the ſole indefeaſible right to any part; and really have ſuch a right to that part which they have reſerved to themſelves. In fine, the conſtitution will be reverenced by him

as

as the law of God and of man; the force of which binds the king as much as the meaneſt ſubject, and the reaſon of which binds him much more.

Thus he will think, and on theſe principles he will act, whether he come to the throne by immediate or remote election. I ſay remote; for in hereditary monarchies, where men are not elected, families are: and therefore ſome authors would have it believed, that when a family has been once admitted, and an hereditary right to the crown recognized in it, that right cannot be forfeited, nor that throne become vacant, as long as any heir of the family remains. How much more agreeably to truth and to common ſenſe would theſe authors have written, if they had maintained, that every prince who comes to a crown in the couſe of ſucceſſion, were he the laſt of five hundred, comes to it under the ſame conditions under which the firſt took it, whether expreſſed or implied; as well as under thoſe, if any ſuch there be, which have been ſince made by legal authority: and that royal blood can give no right, nor length of ſucceſſion any preſcription, againſt the conſtitution of a government? The firſt and the laſt hold by the ſame tenure.

I mention this the rather, becauſe I have an imperfect remembrance, that ſome ſcribler was employed, or employed himſelf, to aſſert the hereditary right of the preſent royal family. A taſk ſo unneceſſary to any good purpoſe, that I believe a ſuſpicion aroſe of its having been deſigned for a bad one. A patriot king will never countenance ſuch impertinent fallacies, nor deign to lean on broken reeds. He knows that his right is founded on the

laws of God and man, that none can ſhake it but himſelf, and that his own virtue is ſufficient to maintain it againſt all oppoſition.

I have dwelt the longer on the firſt and general principles of monarchical government, and have recurred the oftener to them; becauſe it ſeems to me that they are the ſeeds of patriotiſm, which muſt be ſowed as ſoon as poſſible in the mind of a prince, leſt their growth ſhould be checked by rank luxuriant weeds, which are apt to abound in ſuch ſoils, and under which no crop of kingly virtues can ever flouriſh. A prince, who does not know the true principles, cannot propoſe to himſelf the true ends of government; and he, who does not propoſe them, will never direct his conduct ſteadily to them. There is not a deeper, nor a finer obſervation, in all my Lord Bacon's works, than one which I ſhall apply and paraphraſe on this occaſion. The moſt compendious, the moſt noble, and the moſt effectual remedy which can be oppoſed to the uncertain and irregular motions of the human mind, agitated by various paſſions, allured by various temptations, inclining ſometimes towards a ſtate of moral perfection, and oftener even in the beſt towards a ſtate of moral depravation, is this. We muſt chuſe betimes ſuch virtuous objects as are proportioned to the means we have of purſuing them, and as belong particularly to the ſtations we are in, and to the duties of thoſe ſtations. We muſt determine and fix our minds in ſuch manner upon them, that the purſuit of them may become the buſineſs, and the attainment of them the end of our whole lives. Thus we ſhall imitate the great operations of nature,

ture, and not the feeble, ſlow, and imperfect operations of art. We muſt not proceed, in forming the moral character, as a ſtatuary proceeds in forming a ſtatue, who works ſometimes on the face, ſometimes on one part, and ſometimes on another: but we muſt proceed, and it is in our power to proceed, as nature does in forming a flower, an animal, or any other of her productions; *rudimenta partium omnium ſimul parit et producit*. "She throws "out altogether, and at once, the whole ſyſtem of "every being, and the rudiments of all the parts." The vegetable or the animal grows in bulk, and increaſes in ſtrength; but is the ſame from the firſt. Juſt ſo our patriot king muſt be a patriot from the firſt. He muſt be ſuch in reſolution, before he grows ſuch in practice. He muſt fix at once the general principles and ends of all his actions, and determine that his whole conduct ſhall be regulated by them, and directed to them. When he has done this, he will have turned, by one great effort, the bent of his mind ſo ſtrongly towards the perfection of a kingly character, that he will exerciſe with eaſe and as it were by a natural determination, all the virtues of it; which will be ſuggeſted to him on every occaſion by the principles wherewith his mind is imbued, and by thoſe ends that are the conſtant objects of his attention.

Let us then ſee in what manner, and with what effect he will do this, upon the greateſt occaſion he can have of exerciſing theſe virtues, the maintainance of liberty, and the re-eſtabliſhment of a free conſtitution.

The

The freedom of a conſtitution reſts on two points. The orders of it are one: ſo Machiavel calls them, and I know not how to call them more ſignificantly. He means not only the forms and cuſtoms, but the different claſſes and aſſemblies of men, with different powers and privileges attributed to them; which are eſtabliſhed in the ſtate. The ſpirit and character of the people are the other. On the mutual conformity and harmony of theſe the preſervation of liberty depends. To take away, or eſſentially to alter the former, cannot be brought to paſs, whilſt the latter remains in original purity and vigor; nor can liberty be deſtroyed by this method, unleſs the attempt be made with a military force ſufficient to conquer the nation, which would not ſubmit in this caſe till it was conquered, nor with much ſecurity to the conqueror even then. But theſe orders of the ſtate may be eſſentially altered, and ſerve more effectually to the deſtruction of liberty, than the taking of them away would ſerve, if the ſpirit and character of the people are loſt.

Now this method of deſtroying liberty is the moſt dangerous on many accounts, particularly on this; that even the reign of the weakeſt prince, and the policy of the weakeſt miniſtry, may effect the deſtruction, when circumſtances are favourable to this method. If a people is growing corrupt, there is no need of capacity to contrive, nor of inſinuation to gain, nor of plauſibility to ſeduce, nor of eloquence to perſuade, nor of authority to impoſe, nor of courage to attempt. The moſt implacable, awkward, ungracious, ſhocking, profligate and timorous wretches, inveſted with power, and maſters of the purſe, will be ſufficient

for

for the work, when the people are complices in it. Luxury is rapacious; let them feed it: the more it is fed, the more profuſe it will grow. Want is the conſequence of profuſion, venality of want, and dependance of venality. By this progreſſion, the firſt men of a nation will become the penſioners of the leaſt; and he who has talents, the moſt implicit tool to him who has none. The diſtemper will ſoon deſcend, not indeed to make a depoſite below, and to remain there, but to pervade the whole body.

It may ſeem a ſingular, but it is perhaps a true, propoſition, that ſuch a king, and ſuch a miniſtry, are more likely to begin and to purſue with ſucceſs, this method of deſtroying a free conſtitution of government, than a king and a miniſtry that were held in great eſteem would be. This very eſteem might put many on their guard againſt the latter; but the former may draw from contempt the advantage of not being feared: and an advantage this is in the beginning of corruption. Men are willing to excuſe, not only to others, but to themſelves, the firſt ſteps they take in vice, and eſpecially in vice that affects the public, and whereof the public has a right to complain. Thoſe therefore who might withſtand corruption in one caſe, from a perſuaſion that the conſequence was too certain to leave them any excuſe, may yield to it when they can flatter themſelves, and endeavour to flatter others, that liberty cannot be deſtroyed, nor the conſtitution be demoliſhed by ſuch hands as hold the ſcepter, and guide the reins of the adminiſtration. But alas! the flattery is groſs, and the excuſe without colour.

Theſe

Theſe men may ruin their country, but they cannot impoſe on any, unleſs it be on themſelves. Nor will even this impoſition on themſelves be long neceſſary. Their conſciences will be ſoon ſeared, by habit and by example: and they who wanted an excuſe to begin, will want none to continue, and to compleat the tragedy of their country. Old men will outlive the ſhame of loſing liberty, and young men will ariſe who know not that it ever exiſted. A ſpirit of ſlavery will oppoſe and oppreſs the ſpirit of liberty, and ſeem at leaſt to be the genius of the nation. Such too it will become in time, when corruption has once grown to this height, unleſs the progreſs of it can be interrupted.

How ineſtimable a bleſſing, therefore, muſt the ſucceſſion of a patriot king be eſteemed in ſuch circumſtances as theſe, which would be a bleſſing, and a great one too, in any other? He, and he alone, can ſave a country whoſe ruin is ſo far advanced. The utmoſt that private men can do, who remain untainted by the general contagion, is to keep the ſpirit of liberty alive in a few breaſts; to proteſt againſt what they cannot hinder, and to claim on every occaſion what they cannot by their own ſtrength recover.

Machiavel has treated, in the diſcourſes before cited, this queſtion: "Whether, when the people "are grown corrupt, a free government can be "maintained, if they enjoy it; or eſtabliſhed, if "they enjoy it not?" And upon the whole matter he concludes for the difficulty, or rather the impoſſibility, of ſucceeding in either caſe. It will be worth while to obſerve his way of reaſoning.

He

He aſſerts very truly, and proves by the example of the Roman commonwealth, that thoſe orders which are proper to maintain liberty, whilſt a people remain uncorrupt, become improper and hurtful to liberty when a people is grown corrupt. To remedy this abuſe, new laws alone will not be ſufficient. Theſe orders therefore muſt be changed, according to him, and the conſtitution muſt be adapted to the depraved manners of the people. He ſhews, that ſuch a change in the orders, and conſtituent parts of the government, is impracticable, whether the attempt be made by gentle and ſlow, or by violent and precipitate meaſures: and from thence he concludes, that a free commonwealth can neither be maintained by a corrupt people, nor be eſtabliſhed among them. But he adds, that "if "this can poſſibly be done, it muſt be done by "drawing the conſtitution to the monarchical form "of government;" *acchioche quelli huomini i quali dalle leggi non poſſono eſſere corretti, fuſſero da una podeſta, in qualche modo, frenati.* "That a cor- "rupt people, whom law cannot correct, may be "reſtrained and corrected by a kingly power." Here is the hinge on which the whole turns.

Another advantage that a free monarchy has over all other forms of free government, beſides the advantage of being more eaſily and more uſefully tempered with ariſtocratical and democratical powers, which is mentioned above, is this: Thoſe governments are made up of different parts, and are apt to be diſjointed by the ſhocks to which they are expoſed: but a free monarchical government is more compact, becauſe there is a part the more, that keeps, like the key-ſtone of a vault the whole building together.

gether. They cannot be mended in a ſtate of corruption, they muſt be in effect conſtituted anew, and in that attempt they may be diſſolved for ever: but this is not the caſe of a free monarchy. To preſerve liberty by new laws, and new ſchemes of government, whilſt the corruption of a people continues and grows, is abſolutely impoſſible every where: but to reſtore and preſerve it under old laws, and an old conſtitution, by reinfuſing into the minds of men the ſpirit of this conſtitution, is not only poſſible, but is, in a particular manner, eaſy to a king. A corrupt commonwealth remains without remedy, though all the orders and forms of it ſubſiſt: a free monarchical government cannot remain abſolutely ſo, as long as the orders and forms of the conſtitution ſubſiſt. Theſe alone are indeed nothing more than the dead letter of freedom, or maſks of liberty. In the firſt character they ſerve to no good purpoſe whatſoever: in the ſecond, they ſerve to a bad one, becauſe tyranny, or government by will, becomes more ſevere, and more ſecure, under their diſguiſe, than it would if it was barefaced and avowed. But a king can, eaſily to himſelf, and without violence to his people, renew the ſpirit of liberty in their minds, quicken this dead letter, and pull off this maſk.

As ſoon as corruption ceaſes to be an expedient of government, and it will ceaſe to be ſuch, as ſoon as a patriot king is raiſed to the throne, the panacea is applied; the ſpirit of the conſtitution revives of courſe; and, as faſt as it revives, the orders and forms of the conſtitution are reſtored to their primitive integrity, and become what they were intended to be; real barriers againſt

againſt arbitrary power, not blinds nor maſks under which tyranny may lie concealed. Depravation of manners expoſed the conſtitution to ruin; reformation will ſecure it. Men decline eaſily from virtue; for there is a devil too in the political ſyſtem, a conſtant tempter at hand: a patriot king will want neither power nor inclination to caſt out this devil, to make the temptation ceaſe, and to deliver his ſubjects if not from the guilt, yet from the conſequence, of their fall. Under him, they will not only ceaſe to do evil, but learn to do well; for by rendering public virtue and real capacity the ſole means of acquiring any degree of power or profit in the ſtate, he will ſet the paſſions of their hearts on the ſide of liberty and good government. A patriot king is the moſt powerful of all reformers; for he is himſelf a ſort of ſtanding mircale, ſo rarely ſeen and ſo little underſtood, that the ſure effects of his appearance will be admiration and love in every honeſt breaſt, confuſion and terror to every guilty conſcience, but ſubmiſſion and reſignation in all. A new people will ſeem to ariſe with a new king. Innumerable metamorphoſes, like thoſe which poets feign, will happen in every deed: and while men are conſcious that they are the ſame individuals, the difference of their ſentiments will almoſt perſuade them that they are changed into different beings.

But that we may not expect more from ſuch a king than even he can perform, it is neceſſary to premiſe another general obſervation, after which I ſhall deſcend into ſome that will be more particular.

Abſolute ſtability is not to be expected in any thing human; for that which exiſts immutably exiſts

alone neceſſarily, and this attribute of the Supreme Being can neither belong to man, nor to the works of man. The beſt inſtituted governments, like the beſt inſtituted animal bodies, carry in them the ſeeds of their deſtruction: and though they grow and improve for a time, they will ſoon tend viſibly to their diſſolution. Every hour they live is an hour the leſs that they have to live. All that can be done therefore to prolong the duration of a good government, is to draw it back, on every favourable occaſion, to the firſt good principles on which it was founded. When theſe occaſions happens often, and are well improved, ſuch governments are proſperous and durable. When they happen ſeldom, or are ill improved, theſe political bodies live in pain or in languour, and die ſoon.

A patriot king affords one of the occaſions I mention in a free monarchical ſtate, and the very beſt that can happen. It ſhould be improved, like ſnatches of fair weather at ſea, to repair the damages ſuſtained in the laſt ſtorm, and to prepare to reſiſt the next. For ſuch a king cannot ſecure to his people a ſucceſſion of princes like himſelf. He will do all he can towards it, by his example and by his inſtruction. But after all, the royal mantle will not convey the ſpirit of patriotiſm into another king, as the mantle of Elijah did the gift of prophecy into another prophet. The utmoſt he can do, and that which deſerves the utmoſt gratitude from his ſubjects, is to reſtore good government, to revive the ſpirit of it, and to maintain and confirm both, during the whole courſe of his reign. The reſt his people muſt do for themſelves. If they do not, they will have none but themſelves to blame: if they

they do, they will have the principal obligation to him. In all events, they will have been free men one reign the longer by his means, and perhaps more; ſince he will leave them much better prepared and diſpoſed to defend their liberties, than he found them.

This general obſervation being made, let us now deſcend, in ſome detail, to the particular ſteps and meaſures that ſuch a king muſt purſue, to merit a much nobler title than all thoſe which many princes of the weſt, as well as the eaſt, are ſo proud to accumulate.

Firſt then, he muſt begin to govern as ſoon as he begins to reign. For the very firſt ſteps he makes in government will give the firſt impreſſion, and as it were the preſage of his reign; and may be of great importance in many other reſpects beſides that of opinion and reputation. His firſt care will be, no doubt, to purge his court, and to call into the adminiſtration ſuch men, as he can aſſure himſelf will ſerve on the ſame principles on which he intends to govern.

As to the firſt point; if the precedent reign has been bad, we know how he will find the court compoſed. The men in power will be ſome of thoſe adventurers, buſy and bold, who thruſt and crowd themſelves early into the intrigue of party and the management of affairs of ſtate, often without true ability, always without true ambition, or even the appearances of virtue: who mean nothing more than what is called making a fortune, the acquiſition of wealth to ſatisfy avarice, and of titles and ribbands to ſatisfy vanity. Such as theſe are ſure to be em-

ployed by a weak, or a wicked king: they impoſe on the firſt, and are choſen by the laſt. Nor is it marvellous that they are ſo, ſince every other want is ſupplied in them by the want of good principles and a good conſcience; and ſince theſe defects become miniſterial perfections, in a reign when meaſures are purſued and deſigns carried on that every honeſt man will diſapprove. All the proſtitutes who ſet themſelves to ſale, all the locuſts who devour the land, with crowds of ſpies, paraſites and ſycophants, will ſurround the throne under the patronage of ſuch miniſters; and whole ſwarms of little noiſome, nameleſs inſects will hum and buzz in every corner of the court. Such miniſters will be caſt off, and ſuch abettors of a miniſtry will be chaſed away together, and at once, by a patriot king.

Some of them perhaps will be abandoned by him; not to party-fury, but to national juſtice; not to ſate private reſentments, and to ſerve particular intereſts, but to make ſatisfaction for wrongs done to their country, and to ſtand as examples of terror to future adminiſtrations. Clemency makes, no doubt, an amiable part of the character I attempt to draw; but clemency to be a virtue, muſt have its bounds, like other virtues, and ſurely theſe bounds are extended enough by a maxim I have read ſomewhere, that frailties and even vices may be paſſed over, but not enormous crimes: *multa donanda ingeniis puto; ſed donanda vitia, non portenta.*

Among the bad company with which ſuch a court will abound, may be reckoned a ſort of men too low to be much regarded, and too high to be quite neglected; the lumber of every adminiſtration, the

furniture

furniture of every court. Theſe gilt carved things are ſeldom anſwerable for more than the men on a cheſs-board, who, are moved about at will, and on whom the conduct of the game is not to be charged. Some of theſe every prince muſt have about him. The pageantry of a court requires that he ſhould, and this pageantry, like many other deſpicable things, ought not to be laid aſide. But as much ſameneſs as there may appear in the characters of this ſort of men, there is one diſtinction that will be made, whenever a good prince ſucceeds to the throne after an iniquitous adminiſtration: the diſtinction I mean is, between thoſe who have affected to dip themſelves deeply in precedent iniquities, and thoſe who have had the virtue to keep aloof from them, or the good luck not to be called to any ſhare in them. And thus much for the firſt point, that of purging his court.

As to the ſecond, that of calling to his adminiſtration ſuch men as he can aſſure himſelf will ſerve on the ſame principles on which he intends to govern, there is no need to enlarge much upon it. A good prince will no more chuſe ill men, than a wiſe prince will chuſe fools. Deception in the firſt caſe is indeed more eaſy than in the other; becauſe a knave may be an artful hypocrite, whereas a ſilly fellow can never impoſe himſelf for a man of ſenſe. And leaſt of all, in a country like ours, can either of theſe deceptions happen, if any degree of the diſcernment of ſpirits be employed to chuſe. The reaſon is, becauſe every man here, who ſtands forward enough in rank and reputation to be called to the council of his king, muſt have given proofs be-

fore-hand of his patriotiſm as well as of his capacity, if he has either, ſufficient to determine his general character.

There is, however, one diſtinction to be made as to the capacity of miniſters, on which I will inſiſt a little: becauſe I think it very important at all times, particularly ſo at this time; and becauſe it eſcapes obſervation moſt commonly. The diſtinction I mean is that between a cunning man and a wiſe man: and this diſtinction is built on a manifeſt difference in nature, how imperceptible ſoever it may become to weak eyes, or to eyes that look at their object through the falſe medium of cuſtom and habit. My Lord Bacon ſays, that cunning is left-handed or crooked wiſdom. I would rather ſay that it is a part, but the loweſt part of wiſdom; employed alone by ſome, becauſe they have not the other parts to employ: and by ſome, becauſe it is as much as they want, within thoſe bounds of action which they preſcribe to themſelves, and ſufficient to the ends that they propoſe. The difference ſeems to conſiſt in degree and application, rather than in kind. Wiſdom is neither left-handed, nor crooked: but the heads of ſome men contain little, and the hearts of others employ it wrong. To uſe my Lord Bacon's own compariſon, the cunning man knows how to pack the cards, the wiſe man how to play the game better: but it would be of no uſe to the firſt to pack the cards, if his knowledge ſtopped here, and he had no ſkill in the game; nor to the ſecond, to play the game better, if he did not know how to pack the cards, that he might unpack them by new ſhuffling. Inferior wiſdom or

cunning

cunning may get the better of folly; but ſuperior wiſdom will get the better of cunning. Wiſdom and cunning have often the ſame objects; but a wiſe man will have more and greater in his view. The leaſt will not fill his ſoul, nor ever become the principal there; but will be purſued in ſubſerviency, in ſubordination at leaſt, to the other. Wiſdom and cunning may employ ſometimes the ſame means too: but the wiſe man ſtoops to theſe means, and the other cannot riſe above them. Simulation and diſſimulation for inſtance are the chief arts of cunning: the firſt will be eſteemed always by a wiſe man unworthy of him, and will be therefore avoided by him, in every poſſible caſe; for, to reſume my Lord Bacon's compariſon, ſimulation is put on that we may look into the cards of another, whereas diſſimulation intends nothing more than to hide our own. Simulation is a ſtiletto, not only an offenſive, but an unlawful weapon; and the uſe of it may be rarely, very rarely, excuſed, but never juſtified. Diſſimulation is a ſhield, as ſecrecy is armour: and it is no more poſſible to preſerve ſecrecy in the adminiſtration of public affairs without ſome degree of diſſimulation, than it is to ſucceed in it without ſecrecy. Thoſe two arts of cunning are like the alloy mingled with pure ore. A little is neceſſary and will not debaſe the coin below its proper ſtandard; but if more than that little be employed, the coin loſes its currency, and the coiner his credit.

We may obſerve much the ſame difference between wiſdom and cunning, both as to the objects they propoſe, and to the means they employ, as we obſerve

obſerve between the viſual powers of different men. One ſees diſtinctly the objects that are near to him, their immediate relations, and their direct tendencies; and a ſight like this ſerves well enough the purpoſe of thoſe who concern themſelves no further. The cunning miniſter is one of thoſe: he neither ſees nor is concerned to ſee any further, than his perſonal intereſts, and the ſupport of his adminiſtration require. If ſuch a man overcomes any actual difficulty, avoids any immediate diſtreſs, or, without doing either of theſe effectually, gains a little time, by all the low artifice which cunning is ready to ſuggeſt and baſeneſs of mind to employ; he triumphs, and is flattered by his mercenary train on the great event, which amounts often to no more than this, that he got into diſtreſs by one ſeries of faults, and out of it by another. The wiſe miniſter ſees, and is concerned to ſee further, becauſe government has a further concern: he ſees the objects that are diſtant as well as thoſe that are near, and all their remote relations, and even their indirect tendencies. He thinks of fame as well as of applauſe, and prefers that, which to be enjoyed muſt be given, to that which may be bought. He conſiders his adminiſtration as a ſingle day in the great year of government; but as a day that is affected by thoſe which went before, and that muſt affect thoſe which are to follow. He combines therefore and compares all theſe objects, relations, and tendencies, and the judgment he makes on an entire, not a partial ſurvey of them, is the rule of his conduct. That ſcheme of the reaſon of ſtate which lies open before a wiſe miniſter contains all the great princi-

ples

ples of government, and all the great intereſt of his country: ſo that as he prepares ſome events, he prepares againſt others, whether they be likely to happen during his adminiſtration, or in ſome future time.

Many reflections might be added to theſe, and many examples be brought to illuſtrate them. Some I could draw from the men I have ſeen at the head of buſineſs, and make very ſtrong contraſts of men of great wiſdom with thoſe of meer cunning. But I conclude this head, that I may proceed to another of no leſs importance.

To eſpouſe no party, but to govern like the common father of his people, is ſo eſſential to the character of a patriot king, that he who does otherwiſe, forfeits the title. It is the peculiar privilege and glory of this character, that princes who maintain it, and they alone, are ſo far from the neceſſity, that they are not expoſed to the temptation, of governing by a party: which muſt always end in the government of a faction; the faction of the prince, if he has ability, the faction of his miniſters if he has not, and either one way or other in the oppreſſion of the people. For faction is to party what the ſuperlative is to the poſitive: party is a political evil, and faction is the worſt of all parties. The true image of a free people, governed by a patriot king, is that of a patriarchal family, where the head and all the members are united by one common intereſt, and animated by one common ſpirit; and where, if any are perverſe enough to have another, they will be ſoon borne down by the ſuperiority of thoſe who have the ſame; and far from making a diviſion,

diviſion, they will but confirm the union of the little ſtate. That to approach as near as poſſible to theſe ideas of perfect government, and ſocial happineſs under it, is deſireable in every ſtate, no man will be abſurd enough to deny. The ſole queſtion is therefore, how near to them it is poſſible to attain? For, if this attempt be not abſolutely impracticable, all the views of a patriot king will be directed to make it ſucceed. Inſtead of abetting the diviſions of his people, he will endeavour to unite them, and to be himſelf the centre of their union: inſtead of putting himſelf at the head of one party in order to govern his people, he will put himſelf at the head of his people in order to govern, or more properly to ſubdue all parties. Now, to arrive at this deſirable union, and to maintain it, will be found more difficult in ſome caſes than in others, but abſolutely impoſſible in none, to a wiſe and good prince.

If his people are united in their ſubmiſſion to him, and in their attachment to the eſtabliſhed government, he muſt not only eſpouſe but create a party, in order to govern by one: and what ſhould tempt him to purſue ſo wild a meaſure? A prince who aims at more power than the conſtitution gives him, may be ſo tempted; becauſe he may hope to obtain in the diſorders of the ſtate what cannot be obtained in quiet times; and becauſe contending parties will give what a nation will not. Parties, even before they degenerate into abſolute factions, are ſtill numbers of men aſſociated together for certain purpoſes, and certain intereſts, which are not, or which are not allowed to be thoſe of the community by others. A more private or perſonal intereſt

tereſt comes but too ſoon, and too often, to be ſuperadded, and to grow predominant in them: and when it does ſo, whatever occaſions or principles began to form them, the ſame logic prevails in them that prevails in every church. The intereſt of the ſtate is ſuppoſed to be that of the party, as the intereſt of religion is ſuppoſed to be that of the church: and, with this pretence or prepoſſeſſion, the intereſt of the ſtate becomes, like that of religion, a remote conſideration, is never purſued for its own ſake, and is often ſacrificed to the other. A king, therefore, who has ill deſigns to carry on, muſt endeavour to divide an united people; and, by blending or ſeeming to blend his intereſts with that of a party, he may ſucceed perhaps; and his party and he may ſhare the ſpoils of a ruined nation: but ſuch a party is then become a faction, ſuch a king is a tyrant, and ſuch a government is a conſpiracy. A patriot king muſt renounce his character to have ſuch deſigns, or act againſt his own deſigns to purſue ſuch methods. Both are too abſurd to be ſuppoſed. It remains therefore, that as all the good ends of government are moſt attainable in an united ſtate, and as the diviſions of a people can ſerve to bad purpoſes alone, the king we ſuppoſe here will deem the union of his ſubjects his greateſt advantage, and will think himſelf happy to find that eſtabliſhed, which he would have employed the whole labour of his life to bring about. This ſeems ſo plain, that I am ready to make excuſes for having inſiſted at all upon it.

Let us turn ourſelves to another ſuppoſition, to that of a *divided ſtate*. This will fall in oftener with

with the ordinary courſe of things in free governments, and eſpecially after iniquitous and weak adminiſtrations. Such a ſtate may be better or worſe, and the great and good purpoſes of a patriot king more or leſs attainable in it, according to the different nature of thoſe diviſions, and therefore we will conſider this ſtate in different lights.

A people may be united in ſubmiſſion to the prince, and to the eſtabliſhment, and yet be divided about general principles, or particular meaſures of government. In the firſt caſe, they will do by their conſtitution what has been frequently done by the Scripture, ſtrain it to their own notions and prejudices; and if they cannot ſtrain it, alter it as much as is neceſſary to render it conformable to them. In the ſecond, they will ſupport or oppoſe particular acts of adminiſtrations, and defend, or attack the perſons employed in them: and both theſe ways a conflict of parties may ariſe, but no great difficulty to a prince who determines to purſue the union of his ſubjects, and the proſperity of his kingdoms, independently of all parties.

When parties are divided by different notions and principles concerning ſome particular eccleſiaſtical or civil inſtitutions, the conſtitution, which ſhould be their rule, muſt be that of the prince. He may and he ought to ſhew his diſlike or his favour, as he judges the conſtitution may be hurt or improved, by one ſide or the other. The hurt he is never to ſuffer, not for his own ſake; and therefore ſurely not for the ſake of any whimſical, factious, or ambitious ſet of men. The improvement he muſt always deſire, but as every new modification, in a

ſcheme

ſcheme of government and of national policy, is of great importance, and requires more and deeper conſideration than the warmth and hurry and raſhneſs of party-conduct admit; the duty of a prince ſeems to require, that he ſhould render by his influence the proceedings more orderly and more deliberate, even when he approves the end to which they are directed. All this may be done by him without fomenting diviſion; and far from forming, or eſpouſing a party, he will defeat party in defence of the conſtitution, on ſome occaſions; and lead men from acting with a party-ſpirit, to act with a national ſpirit on others.

When the diviſion is about particular meaſures of government, and the conduct of the adminiſtration is alone concerned, a patriot king will ſtand in want of party as little as in any other caſe. Under his reign, the opportunities of forming an oppoſition of this ſort will be rare, and the pretences generally weak. Nay the motives to it will loſe much of their force, when a government is ſtrong in reputation, and men are kept in good humour by feeling the rod of a party on no occaſion, though they feel the weight of the ſceptre on ſome. Such opportunities however may happen, and there may be reaſon as well as pretences ſometimes for oppoſition even in ſuch a reign: at leaſt we will ſuppoſe ſo, that we may include in this argument every contingent caſe. Grievances then are complained of, miſtakes and abuſes in government are pointed out, and miniſters are proſecuted by their enemies. Shall the prince on the throne form a party by intrigue, and by ſecrept and corrupt influence, to oppoſe the proſecu-

tion? When the prince and the miniſters are *participes criminis*, when every thing is to be defended, leſt ſomething ſhould come out, that may unravel the ſilly wicked ſcheme, and diſcloſe to public ſight the whole turpitude of the adminiſtration; there is no help, this muſt be done, and ſuch a party muſt be formed, becauſe ſuch a party alone will ſubmit to a drudgery of this kind. But a prince, who is not in theſe circumſtances, will not have recourſe to theſe means. He has others more open, more noble, and more effectual in his power: he knows that the views of his government are right, and that the tenor of his adminiſtration is good; but he knows that neither he nor his miniſters are infallible, nor impeccable. There may be abuſes in his government, miſtakes in his adminiſtration, and guilt in his miniſters, which he has not obſerved: and he will be far from imputing the complaints, that give him occaſion to obſerve them, to a ſpirit of party; much leſs will he treat thoſe who carry on ſuch proſecutions in a legal manner as incendiaries, and as enemies to his government. On the contrary, he will diſtinguiſh the voice of his people from the clamour of a faction, and will hearken to it. He will redreſs grievances, correct errors, and reform or puniſh miniſters. This he will do as a good prince: and as a wiſe one, he will do it in ſuch a manner that his dignity ſhall be maintained, and that his authority ſhall increaſe with his reputation by it.

Should the efforts of a meer faction be bent to calumniate his government, and to diſtreſs the adminiſtration on groundleſs pretences, and for inſufficient

cient reaſons; he will not neglect, but he will not apprehend neither, the ſhort-lived and contemptible ſcheme. He will indeed have no reaſon to do ſo; for let the futors of male-adminiſtration, whenever an oppoſition is made to it, affect to inſinuate as much as they pleaſe, that their maſters are in no other circumſtances than thoſe to which the very beſt miniſters ſtand expoſed, objects of general envy and of particular malice, it will remain eternally true, that groundleſs oppoſition, in a well-regulated monarchy, can never be ſtrong and durable. To be convinced of the truth of this propoſition, one needs only to reflect how many well-grounded attacks have been defeated, and how few have ſucceeded, againſt the moſt wicked and the weakeſt adminiſtrations. Every king of Britain has means enough in his power to defeat and to calm oppoſition. But a patriot king, above all others, may ſafely reſt his cauſe on the innocency of his adminiſtration, on the conſtitutional ſtrength of the crown, and on the concurrence of his people, to whom he dares appeal, and by whom he will be ſupported.

To conclude all I will ſay on the diviſions of this kind, let me add, that the caſe of a groundleſs oppoſition can hardly happen in a bad reign, becauſe in ſuch a reign juſt occaſions of oppoſition muſt of courſe be frequently given (as we have allowed that they may be given ſometimes, though very rarely, in a good reign) but that whether it be well or ill grounded, whether it be that of the nation, or that of a faction, the conduct of the prince with reſpect to it will be the ſame; and one way or other this conduct muſt have a very fatal event.

Such a prince will not mend the adminiſtration, as long as he can reſiſt the juſteſt and moſt popular oppoſition: and therefore this oppoſition will laſt and grow, as long as a free conſtitution is in force, and the ſpirit of liberty is preſerved; for ſo long even a change of his miniſters, without a change of his meaſures, will not be ſufficient. The former without the latter is a meer banter, and would be deemed and taken for ſuch, by every man who did not oppoſe on a factious principle; that I mean of getting into power at any rate, and uſing it as ill, perhaps worſe than the men he helped to turn out of it. Now if ſuch men as theſe abound, and they will abound in the decline of a free government, a bad prince, whether he changes, or does not change his miniſters, may hope to govern by the ſpirit and art of a faction, againſt the ſpirit and ſtrength of the nation. His character may be too low, and that of his miniſters too odious, to form originally even a faction that ſhall be able to defend them. But they may apply to their purpoſes a party that was formed on far different occaſions, and bring numbers to fight for a cauſe in which many of them would not have liſted. The names, and with the names the animoſity of parties, may be kept up, when the cauſes that formed them ſubſiſt no longer.

When a party is thus revived or continued in the ſpirit of a faction, the corrupt and the infatuated members of it will act without any regard to right or wrong: and they who have aſſerted liberty in one reign, or oppoſed invaſions of one kind, will give it up in another reign, and abet invaſions of another kind; though they ſtill diſtinguiſh themſelves by

by the ſame appellation, ſtill ſpread the ſame banner, and ſtill deafen their adverſaries and one another with the ſame cry. If the national cauſe prevails againſt all the wicked arts of corruption and diviſion, that an obſtinate prince and flagitious miniſtry can employ; yet will the ſtruggle be long, and the difficulties, the diſtreſſes, and the danger great, both to the king and to the people. The beſt he can hope for, in ſuch a caſe, will be to eſcape with a diminution of his reputation, authority, and power. He may be expoſed to ſomething worſe; and his obſtinacy may force things to ſuch extremities, as they who oppoſe him will lament, and as the preſervation of liberty and good government can alone juſtify. If the wicked arts I ſpeak of prevail, faction will be propagated through the whole nation, an ill or well grounded oppoſition will be the queſtion no longer, and the conteſt among parties will be who ſhall govern, not how they ſhall be governed. In ſhort, univerſal confuſion will follow, and a complete victory on any ſide will enſlave all ſides.

I have not overcharged the draught. Such conſequences muſt follow ſuch a conduct; and therefore let me aſk how much more ſafe, more eaſy, more pleaſant, more honourable is it, for a prince to correct, if he has not prevented male-adminiſtration? that he may be able to reſt his cauſe, as I ſaid before, on the ſtrength of the crown and the concurrence of his people, whenever any faction preſumes to riſe in oppoſition to him.

This a patriot king will do. He may favour one party and diſcourage another, upon occaſions wherein the ſtate of his kingdom makes ſuch a temporary

meaſure neceſſary. But he will eſpouſe none, much leſs will he proſcribe any. He will liſt no party, much leſs will he do the meaneſt and moſt imprudent thing a king can do, liſt himſelf in any. It will be his aim to purſue true principles of government independently of all: and by a ſteddy adherence to this meaſure, his reign will become an undeniable and glorious proof, that a wiſe and good prince may unite his ſubjects, and be himſelf the centre of their union, notwithſtanding any of theſe diviſions that have been hitherto mentioned.

Let us now view the divided ſtate of a nation in another light. In this, the diviſions will appear more odious, more dangerous; leſs dependent on the influence, and leſs ſubject to the authority of the crown. Such will be the ſtate, whenever a people is divided about ſubmiſſion to their prince, and a party is formed of ſpirit and ſtrength ſufficient to oppoſe, even in arms, the eſtabliſhed government. But in this caſe, deſperate as it may ſeem, a patriot king will not deſpair of reconciling, and re-uniting his ſubjects to himſelf, and to one another. He may be obliged perhaps, as Henry the fourth of France was, to conquer his own; but then like that great prince, if he is the conqueror, he will be the father too of his people. He muſt purſue in arms thoſe who preſume to take arms againſt him; but he will purſue them like rebellious children whom he ſeeks to reclaim, and not like irreconcileable enemies whom he endeavours to exterminate. Another prince may blow up the flame of civil war by unprovoked ſeverity, render thoſe zealous againſt him who were at worſt indifferent, and

and determine the diſaffection of others to open rebellion. When he has prevailed againſt the faction he helped to form, as he could not have prevailed if the bent of the nation had been againſt him, he may be willing to aſcribe his ſucceſs to a party, that he may have that pretence to govern by a party: and far from reconciling the minds that have been alienated from him, and re-uniting his ſubjects in a willing unforced ſubmiſſion to him, he may be content to maintain himſelf on that throne, where the laws of God and man have placed him, by the melancholy expedient that uſurpers and tyrants, who have no other in their power, employ the expedient of force. But a patriot king will act with another ſpirit, and entertain nobler and wiſer views from firſt to laſt, and through the whole courſe of ſuch a conjuncture. Nothing leſs than the hearts of his people will content ſuch a prince, nor will he think his throne eſtabliſhed till it is eſtabliſhed there. That he may have time and opportunity to gain them, therefore, he will prevent the flame from breaking out, if by art and management he can do it. If he cannot, he will endeavour to keep it from ſpreading: and if the phrenzy of rebellion diſappoints him in both theſe attempts, he will remember peace, like the heroic king I juſt now quoted, in the midſt of war. Like him he will forego advantages of puſhing the latter, rather than loſe an opportunity of promoting the former: like him, in the heat of battle he will ſpare, and in the triumph of victory condeſcend: like him, he will beat down the violence of this flame, by this valour, and extinguiſh even the embers of it, by his lenity.

It

It may happen, that a prince, capable of holding ſuch a conduct as this, may not have the opportunity. He may ſucceed to the throne after a contrary conduct has been held; and when, among other diviſions which male-adminiſtration and the tyranny of faction have increaſed and confirmed, there is one againſt the eſtabliſhed government ſtill in being, though not ſtill in arms. The uſe is obvious, which a faction in power might make of ſuch a circumſtance under a weak prince, by ranking in that diviſion all thoſe who oppoſed the adminiſtration, or at leaſt by holding out equal danger to him from two quarters, from their enemies who meant him no harm, and from his enemies who could do him none. But ſo groſs an artifice will not impoſe on a prince of another character; he will ſoon diſcern the diſtinctions it becomes him to make. He will ſee, in this inſtance, how faction breeds, nouriſhes, and perpetuates faction: he will obſerve how far that of the court contributed to form the other, and contributes ſtill to keep it in countenance and credit, among thoſe who conſider more what ſuch men are againſt, than what they are for. He will obſerve, how much that of the diſaffected gives pretence to the other who keeps a monopoly of power and wealth, one of which oppreſſes, and the other beggars, the reſt of the nation: his penetration will ſoon diſcover, that theſe factions break in but little on the body of his people, and that it depends on him alone to take from them even the ſtrength they have; becauſe that of the former is acquired entirely by his authority and purſe, and that of the latter principally by the abuſe which the former makes of both.

both. Upon the whole, the measures he has to purſue towards the great object of a patriot king, the union of his people, will appear to him extremely eaſy. How ſhould they be otherwiſe? One of the factions muſt be diſſolved the moment that the favour of the prince is withdrawn, and the other is diſarmed as ſoon as it is marked out. It will have no ſhelter, and it muſt therefore be ſo marked out, under a good and wiſe adminiſtration; for whether the members of it avow their principles by refuſing thoſe teſts of fidelity which the law requires, or perjure themſelves by taking them, they will be known alike. One difference, and but one will be made between them in the general ſenſe of mankind, a difference ariſing from the greater degree of infamy that will belong juſtly to the latter. The firſt may paſs for fools: the latter muſt paſs without excuſe for knaves.

The terms I uſe ſound harſhly, but the cenſure is juſt, and it will appear to be ſo in the higheſt degree, and upon the higheſt reaſon, if we ſtop to make a reflection or two that deſerve very well to be made, on the conduct of our Jacobites; for I deſire no ſtronger inſtance on which to eſtabliſh the cenſure, and to juſtify the terms I have uſed. Now all theſe, whether they ſwear, or whether they do not, are liable to one particular objection, that did not lye againſt thoſe who were in former days enemies to the king on the throne. In the days of York and Lancaſter, for inſtance, a man might be againſt the prince on the throne without being againſt the conſtitution of his country. The conſtitution conveyed the crown by hereditary right in the ſame family:

family: and he who was a Yorkiſt, and he who was a Lancaſtrian, might, and I doubt not did, pretend in every conteſt to have this right on his ſide. The ſame conſtitution was acknowledged by both, and therefore ſo much indulgence was ſhewn by law to both, at leaſt in the time of Henry the ſeventh, that ſubmiſſion to a king *de facto* could not be imputed as a crime to either. Thus again, to deſcend lower in hiſtory; when the excluſion of the Duke of York was preſſed in the reign of Charles the ſecond, the right of that prince to the crown was not diſputed. His divine right indeed, ſuch a divine right as his grandfather and father had aſſerted before him, was not much regarded; but his right by the conſtitution, his legal right, was ſufficiently owned by thoſe who inſiſted on a law as neceſſary to barr it. But every Jacobite at this time goes beyond all theſe examples, and is a rebel to the conſtitution under which he is born, as well as to the prince on the throne. The law of his country has ſettled the right of ſucceſſion in a new family. He reſiſts this law, and aſſerts on his own private authority, not only a right in contradiction to it, but a right extinguiſhed by it. This abſurdity is ſo great, that it cannot be defended except by advancing a greater; and therefore it is urged, that no power on earth could alter the conſtitution in this reſpect, nor extinguiſh a right to the crown inherent in the Stuart family, and derived from a ſuperior, that is from a divine authority. This kind of plea, for refuſing ſubmiſſion to the laws of he land, if it was admitted, would ſerve any purpoſe as well as that for which it is brought. Our

fanatics

fanatics urged it formerly, and I do not ſee why a conſcientious fifth monarchy-man had not as much right to urge it formerly, as a Jacobite has now. But if conſcience, that is private opinion, may excuſe the fifth monarchy man and the Jacobite, who act conformably to it, from all imputations except thoſe of madneſs and folly; how ſhall the latter be excuſed when he forſwears the principles he retains, acknowledges the right he renounces, takes oaths with an intent to violate them, and calls God to witneſs to a premediated lie? Some caſuiſtry has been employed to excuſe theſe men to themſelves and to others. But ſuch caſuiſtry, and in truth every other, deſtroys, by diſtinctions and exceptions, all morality, and effaces the eſſential difference between right and wrong, good and evil. This the ſchoolmen in general have done on many occaſions; the ſons of Loyola in particular: and I wiſh with all my heart that nothing of the ſame kind could be objected to any other divines. Some political reaſoning has been employed, as well as the caſuiſtry here ſpoken of, and to the ſame purpoſe. It has been ſaid, that the conduct of thoſe who are enemies to the eſtabliſhment, to which they ſubmit and ſwear, is juſtified by the principles of the Revolution. But nothing can be more falſe and frivolous. By the principles of the Revolution, a ſubject may reſiſt, no doubt, the prince who endeavours to ruin and enſlave his people, and may puſh this reſiſtance to the dethronement and excluſion of him and his race: but will it follow, that, becauſe we may juſtly take arms againſt a prince whoſe right to govern we once acknowledged, and who by ſubſequent acts has forfeited

feited that right, we may ſwear to a right we do not acknowledge, and reſiſt a prince whoſe conduct has not forfeited the right we ſwore to, nor given any juſt diſpenſation from our oaths?

But I ſhall lengthen this digreſſion no further: it is on a ſubject I have treated in public writings, the refutation of which never came to my hands, and, I think, never will. I return to the ſubject of my preſent diſcourſe. And I ſay, that ſuch factions as theſe can never create any obſtruction to a prince, who purſues the union of his ſubjects, nor diſturb the peace of his government. The men who compoſe them muſt be deſperate, and impotent; the moſt deſpicable of all characters when they go together. Every honeſt and ſenſible man will diſtinguiſh himſelf out of their number: and they will remain, as they deſerve to be, hewers of wood, and drawers of water, to the reſt of their fellow ſubjects.

They will remain ſuch, if they are abandoned to themſelves, and to that habitual infatuation which they have not ſenſe and ſpirit enough to break. But if a prince, out of goodneſs or policy, ſhould think it worth his while to take them from under this influence, and to break theſe habits; even this diviſion, the moſt abſurd of all others, will not be found incurable. A man who has not ſeen the inſide of parties, nor had opportunities to examine nearly their ſecret motives, can hardly conceive how little a ſhare principle of any ſort, though principle of ſome ſort or other be always pretended, has in the determination of their conduct. Reaſon has ſmall effect on numbers: a turn of imagination often as violent

and

and as ſudden as a guſt of wind, determines their conduct; and paſſion is taken by others, and by themſelves too, when it grows into habit eſpecially, for principle. What gave ſtrength and ſpirit to a Jacobite party, after the late king's acceſſion? The true anſwer is, a ſudden turn of the imaginations of a whole party, to reſentment and rage, that were turned a little before to quiet ſubmiſſion, and patient expectation. Principle had as little ſhare in making the turn, as reaſon had in conducting it. Men who had ſenſe, and temper too, before that moment, thought of nothing after it but of ſetting up a Tory king againſt a Whig king: and when ſome of them were aſked, if they were ſure a popiſh king would make a good Tory king? or whether they were determined to ſacrifice their religion and liberty to him? The anſwer was, No: that they would take arms againſt him, if he made attempts on either; that this might be the caſe perhaps in ſix months after his reſtoration, but that in the mean time they would endeavour his reſtoration. This is no exaggerated fact: and I leave you to judge to what ſuch ſentiments and conduct muſt be aſcribed, to principle or paſſion, to reaſon or madneſs? What gives obſtinacy without ſtrength, and ſullenneſs without ſpirit, to the Jacobite-tories at this time? Another turn of imagination, or rather the ſame ſhewing itſelf in another form. A factious habit, and a factious notion, converted into a notion of policy and honour. They are taught to believe, that by clinging together they are a conſiderable weight, which may be thrown in to turn the ſcale in any great event; and that, in the mean time, to be a

ſteddy ſuffering party, is an honour they may flatter themſelves with very juſtly. Thus they continue ſteddy to engagements which moſt of them wiſh in their hearts they had never taken; and ſuffer for principles, in ſupport of which not one of them would venture further than talking the treaſon that claret inſpires.

It reſults therefore from all that has been ſaid, and from the reflections which theſe hints may ſuggeſt, that in whatever light we view the divided ſtate of a people, there is none in which theſe diviſions will appear incurable, nor an union of the members of a great community with one another, and with their head, unattainable. It may happen in this caſe, as it does in many others, that things uncommon may paſs for improbable or impoſſible: and as nothing can be more uncommon than a patriot king, there will be room to wonder if the natural and certain effects of his conduct ſhould appear improbable or impoſſible to many. But there is ſtill ſomething more in this caſe. Though the union we ſpeak of be ſo much for the intereſt of every king and every people, that their glory and their proſperity muſt increaſe, or diminiſh, in proportion as they approach nearer to it, or are further removed from it; yet is there another intereſt, by which princes and people both are often impoſed upon, ſo far as to miſtake it for their own. The intereſt I mean is that of private ambition. It would be eaſy to ſhew, in many inſtances, and particularly in this, of uniting inſtead of dividing, and of governing by a national concurrence, inſtead of governing by the management of parties and factions in the ſtate,

how

how wildely different, nay how repugnant, the intereſts of private ambition and thoſe of real patriotiſm are. Men therefore who are warmed by the firſt, and have no ſenſe of the laſt, will declare for diviſion, as they do for corruption, in oppoſition to union and to integrity of government. They will not indeed declare directly that the two former are in the abſtract peferable, but they will affirm, with great airs of ſufficiency, that both are incurable; and conclude from hence, that in practice it is neceſſary to comply with both. This ſubterfuge once open, there is no falſe and immoral meaſure in political management, which may not be avowed and recommended. But the very men who hope to eſcape by opening it, ſhut it up again, and ſecure their own condemnation, when they labour to confirm diviſions, and to propagate corruption, and thereby to create the very neceſſity that they plead in their excuſe. Neceſſity of this kind there is in reality none; for it ſeems full as abſurd to ſay, that popular diviſions muſt be cultivated, becauſe popular union cannot be procured, as it would be to ſay, that poiſon muſt be poured into a wound, becauſe it cannot be healed. The practice of morality in private life will never arrive at ideal perfection: muſt we give up ourſelves therefore to all manner of immorality? And muſt thoſe who are charged with our inſtruction endeavour to make us the moſt profligate of men, becauſe they cannot make us ſaints?

Experience of the depravity of human nature, made men deſirous to unite in ſociety and under government, that they might defend themſelves the

better againſt injuries: but the ſame depravity ſoon inſpired to ſome the deſign of employing ſocieties to invade and ſpoil ſocieties; and to diſturb the peace of the great commonwealth of mankind, with more force and effect in ſuch collective bodies, than they could do individually. Juſt ſo it happens in the domeſtic oeconomy of particular ſtates: and their peace is diſturbed by the ſame paſſions. Some of their members content themſelves with the common benefits of ſociety, and employ all their induſtry to promote the public good: but ſome propoſe to themſelves a ſeparate intereſt, and, that they may purſue it the more effectually, they aſſociate with others. Thus factions are in them, what nations are in the world. They invade and rob one another: and while each purſues a ſeparate intereſt, the common intereſt is ſacrificed by them all; that of mankind in one caſe, that of ſome particular community in the other. This has been, and muſt always be in ſome meaſure, the courſe of human affairs, eſpecially in free countries, where the paſſions of men are leſs reſtrained by authority: and I am not wild enough to ſuppoſe, that a patriot king can change human nature. But I am reaſonable enough to ſuppoſe, that without altering the human nature he may give a check to this courſe of human affairs, in his own kingdom at leaſt; that he may defeat the deſigns, and break the ſpirit of faction, inſtead of partaking in one, and aſſuming the other; and that if he cannot render the union of his ſubjects univerſal, he may render it ſo general, as to anſwer all the ends of good government, private ſecurity, public tranquillity, wealth, power, and fame.

If

If theſe ends were ever anſwered, they were ſo, ſurely, in this country, in the days of our Elizabeth. She found her kingdom full of factions, and factions of another conſequence and danger than theſe of our days, whom ſhe would have diſperſed with a puff of her breath. She could not re-unite them, it is true: the Papiſt continued a Papiſt, the Puritan a Puritan; one furious, the other ſullen. But ſhe united the great body of the people in her and their common intereſt, ſhe inflamed them with one national ſpirit, and thus armed, ſhe maintained tranquillity at home, and carried ſuccour to her friends, and terror to her enemies abroad. There were cabals at her court, and intrigues among her miniſters. It is ſaid too, that ſhe did not diſlike that there ſhould be ſuch. But theſe were kept within her court. They could not creep abroad, to ſow diviſion among her people: and her greateſt favourite the Earl of Eſſex paid the price of attempting it with his head. Let our great doctors in politics, who preach ſo learnedly on the trite text *divide et impera*, compare the conduct of Elizabeth in this reſpect with that of her ſucceſſor, who endeavoured to govern his kingdom by the notions of a faction that he raiſed, and to manage his parliament by undertakers: and they muſt be very obſtinate indeed, if they refuſe to acknowledge, that a wiſe and good prince can unite a divided people, though a weak and wicked prince cannot; and that the conſequences of national union, are glory and happineſs to the prince and to the people, whilſt thoſe of diſunion bring ſhame and miſery on both, and entail them too on poſterity.

I have dwelt long on the laſt head, not only becauſe it is of great importance in itſelf, and at all times, but becauſe it is rendered more ſo than ever at this time, by the unexampled avowal of contrary principles. Hitherto it has been thought the higheſt pitch of profligacy to own, inſtead of concealing crimes, and to take pride in them, inſtead of being aſhamed of them. But in our age men have ſoared to a pitch ſtill higher. The firſt is common, it is the practice of numbers, and by their numbers they keep one another in countenance. But the choice ſpirits of theſe days, the men of mode in politics, are far from ſtopping where criminals of all kinds have ſtopt when they have gone even to this point; for generally the moſt hardened of the inhabitants of Newgate do not go ſo far. The men I ſpeak of contend, that it is not enough to be vicious by practice and habit, but that it is neceſſary to be ſo by principle. They make themſelves miſſionaries of faction as well as of corruption: they recommend both, they deride all ſuch as imagine it poſſible or fit, to retain truth, integrity, and a diſintereſted regard to the public in public life, and pronounce every man a fool who is not ready to act like a knave. I hope that enough has been ſaid, though much more might have been ſaid, to expoſe the wickedneſs of theſe men, and the abſurdity of their ſchemes; and to ſhew that a patriot king may walk more eaſily and ſucceſsfully in other paths of government, *per tutum planumque iter religionis, juſtitiæ, honeſtatis, virtutumque moralium.* Let me proceed, therefore, to mention two other heads of the conduct that ſuch a king will hold, and it ſhall

be

be my endeavour not to fall into the ſame prolixity.

A king who eſteems it his duty to ſupport, or to reſtore, if that be needful, the free conſtitution of a limited monarchy; who forms and maintains a wiſe and good adminiſtration; who ſubdues faction, and promotes the union of his people; and who makes their greateſt good the conſtant object of his government, may be ſaid, no doubt, to be in the true intereſt of his kingdom. All the particular caſes that can ariſe are included in theſe general characteriſtics of a wiſe and good reign. And yet it ſeems proper to mention, under a diſtinct head, ſome particular inſtances that have not been touched, wherein this wiſdom and goodneſs will exert themſelves.

Now, though the true intereſt of ſeveral ſtates may be the ſame in many reſpects, yet is there always ſome difference to be perceived by a diſcerning eye, both in theſe intereſts, and in the manner of purſuing them; a difference that ariſes from the ſituation of countries, from the character of people, from the nature of government, and even from that of climate and ſoil; from circumſtances that are like theſe permanent, and from others that may be deemed more accidental. To illuſtrate all this by examples, would be eaſy, but long. I ſhall content myſelf therefore to mention, in ſome inſtances only, the difference that ariſes, from the cauſes referred to, between the true intereſt of our country, and that of ſome or all our neighbours on the continent; and leave you to extend and apply in your thoughts

thoughts the compariſon I ſhall hint at, rather than enlarge upon.

The ſituation of Great Britain, the character of her people, and the nature of her government, fit her for trade and commerce. Her climate and her ſoil make them neceſſary to her well-being. By trade and commerce we grew a rich and powerful nation, and by their decay we are growing poor and impotent. As trade and commerce enrich, ſo they fortify our country. The ſea is our barrier, ſhips are our fortreſſes, and the mariners, that trade and commerce alone can furniſh, are the garriſons to defend them. France lies under great diſadvantages in trade and commerce, by the nature of her government. Her advantages in ſituation are as great at leaſt as ours. Thoſe that ariſe from the temper and character of her people, are a little different, perhaps, and yet upon the whole equivalent. Thoſe of her climate and her ſoil are ſuperior to ours, and indeed to thoſe of any European nation. The United Provinces have the ſame advantages that we have in the nature of their government, more perhaps in the temper and character of their people, leſs to be ſure in their ſituation, climate, and ſoil. But without deſcending into a longer detail of the advantages and diſadvantages attending each of theſe nations in trade and commerce, it is ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe to obſerve, that Great Britain ſtands in a certain middle between the other two, with regard to wealth and power ariſing from theſe ſprings. A leſs, and a leſs conſtant, application to the improvement of theſe may ſerve the ends of France; a greater is neceſſary in this country; and a greater

ſtill

ſtill in Holland. The French may improve their natural wealth and power by the improvement of trade and commerce. We can have no wealth nor power by conſequence, as Europe is now conſtituted, without the improvement of them, nor in any degree but proportionably to this improvement. The Dutch cannot ſubſiſt without them. They bring wealth to other nations, and are neceſſary to the well-being of them; but they ſupply the Dutch with food and raiment, and are neceſſary even to their being.

The reſult of what has been ſaid is, in general, that the wealth and power of all nations depending ſo much on their trade and commerce, and every nation being, like the three I have mentioned, in ſuch different circumſtances of advantage or diſadvantage in the purſuit of this common intereſt; a good government, and therefore the government of a patriot king, will be directed conſtantly to make the moſt of avery advantage that nature has given, or art can procure, towards the improvement of trade and commerce. And this is one of the principal criterions, by which we are to judge whether governors are in the true intereſt of the people, or not.

It reſults, in particular, that Great Britain might improve her wealth and power in a proportion ſuperior to that of any nation who can be deemed her rival, if the advantages ſhe has were as wiſely cultivated, as they will be in the reign of a patriot king. To be convinced more thoroughly of this truth, a very ſhort proceſs of reaſoning will ſuffice. Let any man, who has knowledge enough for it,

firſt

firſt compare the natural ſtate of Great Britain, and of the United Provinces, and then their artificial ſtate together; that is, let him conſider minutely the advantages we have by the ſituation, extent, and nature of our iſland, over the inhabitants of a few ſalt marſhes gained on the ſea, and hardly defended from it: and after that, let him conſider how nearly theſe provinces have raiſed themſelves to an equality of wealth and power with the kingdom of Great Britain. From whence ariſes this difference of improvement? It ariſes plainly from hence: the Dutch have been, from the foundation of their commonwealth, a nation of patriots and merchants. The ſpirit of that people has not been diverted from theſe two objects, the defence of their liberty, and the improvement of their trade and commerce; which have been carried on by them with uninterrupted and unſlackened application, induſtry, order, and oeconomy. In Great Britain the caſe has not been the ſame, in either reſpect; but here we confine ourſelves to ſpeak of the laſt alone.

Trade and commerce, ſuch as they were in thoſe days, had been ſometimes, and in ſome inſtances, before the reign of Queen Elizabeth, encouraged and improved: but the great encouragements were given, the great extenſions and improvements were made, by that glorious princeſs. To her we owe that ſpirit of domeſtic and foreign trade, which is not quite extinguiſhed. It was ſhe who gave that rapid motion to our whole mercantile ſyſtem which is not entirely ceaſed. They both flagged under her ſucceſſor; were not revived under his ſon; were checked, diverted, clogged, and interrupted, during

our

our civil wars: and began to exert new vigour after the reſtoration, in a long courſe of peace; but met with new difficulties too from the confirmed rivalry of the Dutch, and the growing rivalry of the French. To one of theſe the puſillanimous character of James the firſt gave many ſcandalous occaſions: and the other was favoured by the conduct of Charles the ſecond, who never was in the true intereſt of the people he governed. From the revolution to the death of Queen Anne, however trade and commerce might be aided and encouraged in other reſpects, they were neceſſarily ſubjected to depradations abroad, and overloaded by taxes at home, during the courſe of two great wars. From the acceſſion of the late king, to this hour, in the midſt of a full peace, the debts of the nation continue much the ſame, the taxes have been increaſed, and, for eighteen years of this time, we have tamely ſuffered continual depradations from the moſt contemptible maritime power in Europe, that of Spain.

A patriot king will neither neglect, nor ſacrifice, his country's intereſt. No other intereſt, neither a foreign nor a domeſtic, neither a public nor a private, will influence his conduct in government. He will not multiply taxes wantonly, nor keep up thoſe unneceſſarily which neceſſity has laid, that he may keep up legions of tax-gatherers He will not continue national debts, by all ſorts of political and other profuſion; nor, more wickedly ſtill, by a ſettled purpoſe of oppreſſing and impoveriſhing the people, that he may with greater eaſe corrupt ſome, and govern the whole according to the dictates of his paſſions and arbitrary will. To give eaſe and

encou-

encouragement to manufactory at home, to aſſiſt and protect trade abroad, to improve and keep in heart the national colonies, like ſo many farms of the mother country, will be principal and conſtant parts of the attention of ſuch a prince. The wealth of the nation he will moſt juſtly eſteem to be his wealth, the power his power, the ſecurity and honour his ſecurity and honour; and, by the very means by which he promotes the two firſt, he will wiſely preſerve the two laſt; for by theſe means, and by theſe alone, can the great advantage of the ſituation of this kingdom be taken and improved.

Great Britain is an iſland: and whilſt nations on the continent are at immenſe charge in maintaining their barriers, and perpetually on their guard, and frequently embroiled to extend or ſtrengthem them, Great Britain may, if her governors pleaſe, accumulate wealth in maintaining hers; make herſelf ſecure from invaſions, and be ready to invade others, when her own immediate intereſt, or the general intereſt of Europe, require it. Of all which Queen Elizabeth's reign is a memorable example, and undeniable proof. I ſaid the general intereſt of Europe, becauſe it ſeems to me that this alone ſhould call our councils off from an almoſt entire application to their domeſtic and proper buſineſs. Other nations muſt watch over every motion of their neighbours: penetrate, if they can, every deſign; foreſee every minute event, and take part, by ſome engagement or other, in almoſt every conjuncture that ariſes. But as we cannot be eaſily nor ſuddenly attacked, and as we ought not to aim at any acquiſition of territory on the continent, it may be our intereſt

intereſt to watch the ſecret workings of the ſeveral councils abroad; to adviſe and warn; to abet and oppoſe; but it never can be our true intereſt eaſily and officiouſly to enter into action, much leſs into engagements that imply action and expence. Other nations, like the Velites or light-armed troops, ſtand foremoſt in the field, and ſkirmiſh perpetually. When a great war begins, we ought to look on the powers of the continent, to whom we incline, like the two firſt lines, the *Principes* and *Haſtati* of a Roman army; and on ourſelves, like the *Triarii*, that are not to charge with theſe legions on every occaſion, but to be ready for the conflict whenever the fortune of the day, be it ſooner or latter, calls us to it, and the ſum of things, or the general intereſt, makes it neceſſary.

This is that poſt of advantage and honour, which our ſingular ſituation among the powers of Europe determines us, or ſhould determine us, to take, in all diſputes that happen on the continent. If we neglect it, and diſſipate our ſtrength on occaſions that touch us remotely or indirectly; we are governed by men who do not know the true intereſt of this iſland, or who have ſome other intereſt more at heart. If we adhere to it, ſo at leaſt as to deviate little and ſeldom from it, as we ſhall do whenever we are wiſely and honeſtly governed, then will this nation make her proper figure, and a great one it will be. By a continual attention to improve her natural, that is, her maritime ſtrength, by collecting all her forces within herſelf, and reſerving them to be laid out on great occaſions, ſuch as regard her immediate intereſts and her honour, or ſuch as

are truly important to the general ſyſtem of power in Europe; ſhe may be the arbitrator of differences, the guardian of liberty, and the preſerver of that balance, which has been ſo much talked of, and is ſo little underſtood.

" Are we never to be ſoldiers? you will ſay. Yes conſtantly, in ſuch proportion as is neceſſary for the defence of good government. To eſtabliſh ſuch a military force as none but bad governours can want, is to eſtabliſh tyrannical power in the king or in the miniſters; and may be wanted by the latter, when the former would be ſecure without his army, if he broke his miniſter. Occaſionally too we muſt be ſoldiers, and for offence as well as defence; but in proportion to the nature of the conjuncture, conſidered always relatively to the difference here inſiſted upon, between our ſituation, our intereſt, and the nature of our ſtrength, compared with thoſe of the other powers of Europe; and not in proportion to the deſires, or even to the wants, of the nations with whom we are confederated. Like other amphibious animals, we muſt come occaſionally on ſhore: but the water is more properly our element, and in it, like them, as we find our greateſt ſecurity, ſo we exert our greateſt force.

What I touch upon here, very ſhortly, deſerves to be conſidered, and reconſidered, by every man who has, or may have any ſhare in the government of Great Britain. For we have not only departed too much from our true national intereſt in this reſpect; but we have done ſo with the general applauſe even of well-meaning men, who did not diſcern

can that we waſted ourſelves by an improper application of our ſtrength in conjunctures, when we might have ſerved the common cauſe far more uſefully, nay with entire effect, by a proper application of our natural ſtrength. There was ſomething more than this. Armies grew ſo much into faſhion in time of war, among men who meant well to their country, that they who mean ill to it have kept, and keep them ſtill up in the profoundeſt peace: and the number of our ſoldiers, in this iſland alone, is almoſt double to that of our ſeamen. That they are kept up againſt foreign enemies, cannot be ſaid with any colour. If they are kept for ſhew, they are ridiculous. If they are kept for any other purpoſe whatever, they are too dangerous to be ſuffered. A patriot king, ſeconded by miniſters attached to the true intereſt of their country, would ſoon reform this abuſe, and ſave a great part of this expence; or apply it in a manner preferable even to the ſaving it, to the maintainance of a body of marine foot, and to the charge of a regiſter of thirty or forty thouſand ſeamen. But no thoughts like theſe, no great deſigns for the honour and intereſt of the kingdom, will be entertained, till men who have this honour and intereſt at heart ariſe to power.

I come now to the laſt head, under which I ſhall conſider the character and conduct of a patriot king: and let it not be thought to be of the leaſt importance, though it may ſeem at the firſt mention to concern appearances rather than realities, and to be nothing more than a circumſtance contained in, or implied by the great parts of the character and con-

duct of ſuch a king. It is of his perſonal behaviour, of his manner of living with other men, and, in a word, of his private as well as public life that I mean to ſpeak. It is of that decency and grace, that *bienſence* of the French, that *decorum* of the Latins, that πρεπον of the Greeks, which can never be reflected on any character that is not laid in virtue: but for want of which, a character that is ſo laid will loſe at all times part of the luſtre belonging to it, and may be ſometimes not a little miſunderſtood and undervalued. Beauty is not ſeparable from health, nor this luſtre ſaid the ſtoics, from virtue: but as a man may be healthful without being handſome, ſo he may be virtuous without being amiable.

There are certain finiſhing ſtrokes, a laſt hand as we commonly ſay, to be given to all the works of art. When that is not given, we may ſee the excellency of a general deſign, and the beauty of ſome particular parts. A judge of the art may ſee further; he may allow for what is wanting, and diſcern the full merit of a compleat work in one that is imperfect. But vulgar eyes will not be ſo ſtruck. The work will appear to them defective, becauſe unfiniſhed: ſo that without knowing preciſely what they diſlike, they may admire, but they will not be pleaſed. Thus in moral characters, though every part be virtuous and great, or though the few and ſmall defects in it be concealed under the blaze of thoſe ſhining qualities that compenſate for them; yet is not this enough even in private life: it is leſs ſo in public life, and ſtill leſs ſo, in that of a prince.

There

There is a certain *ſpecies liberalis*, more eaſily underſtood than explained, and felt than defined, that muſt be acquired and rendered habitual to him. A certain propriety of words and actions, that reſults from their conformity to nature and character, muſt always accompany him, and create an air and manner, that run uniformly through the whole tenour of his conduct and behaviour: which air and manner are ſo far from any kind or degree of affectation, that they cannot be attained except by him who is void of all affectation. We may illuſtrate this to ourſelves, and make it more ſenſible, by reflecting on the conduct of good dramatic or epic writers. They draw the characters which they bring on the ſcene from nature, they ſuſtain them through the whole piece, and make their actors neither ſay nor do any thing that is not exactly proper to the character each of them repreſents. *Oderint dum metuant*, came properly out of the mouth of a tyrant; but Euripides would never have put that execrable ſentence into the mouth of Minos or Æacus.

A man of ſenſe and virtue both will not fall into any great impropriety of character, or indecency of conduct. But he may slide or be ſurprized into ſmall ones, from a thouſand reaſons, and in a thouſand manners, which I ſhall not ſtay to enumerate. Againſt theſe, therefore, even men, who are incapable of falling into the others, muſt be ſtill on their guard, and no men ſo much as princes. When their minds are filled and their hearts warmed with true notions of government, when they know their duty, and love their people, they will not fail in

the great parts they are to act, in the council, in the field, and in all the arduous affairs that belong to their kingly office: at leaſt they will not begin to fail, by failing in them. But as they are men, ſuſceptible of the ſame impreſſions, liable to the ſame errors, and expoſed to the ſame paſſions, ſo they are likewiſe expoſed to more and ſtronger temptations, than others. Beſides, the elevation in which they are placed, as it gives them great advantages, gives them great diſadvantages too, that often countervail the former. Thus for inſtance, a little merit in a prince is ſeen and felt by numbers: it is multiplied; as it were, and in proportion to this effect his reputation is raiſed by it. But then, a little failing is ſeen and felt by numbers too: it is multiplied in the ſame manner, and his reputation ſinks in the ſame proportion.

I ſpoke above of defects that may be concealed under the blaze of great and ſhining qualities. This may be the caſe: it has been that of ſome princes. There goes a tradition, that Henry the fourth of France aſked a Spaniſh ambaſſador, what miſtreſſes the king of Spain had? The ambaſſador replied, like a formal pedant, that his maſter was a prince who feared God, and had no miſtreſs but the queen. Henry the fourth felt the reflection, and aſked him in return with ſome contempt, "Whether his maſter had not virtues enough to cover "one vice?"

The faults or defects, that may be thus covered or compenſated, are, I think, thoſe of the man rather than thoſe of the king; ſuch as ariſe from conſtitution, and the natural rather than the moral character;

character; ſuch as may be deemed accidental ſtarts of paſſion, or accidental remiſſneſs in ſome unguarded hours; ſurprizes, if I may ſay ſo, of the man on the king. When theſe happen ſeldom, and paſs ſoon, they may be hid, like ſpots in the ſun, but they are ſpots ſtill. He, who has the means of ſeeing them, will ſee them: and he, who has not, may feel the effects of them without knowing preciſely the cauſe. When they continue (for here is the danger, becauſe, if they continue, they will increaſe) they are ſpots no longer: they ſpread a general ſhade, and obſcure the light in which they were drowned before. The virtues of the king are loſt in the vices of the man.

Alexander had violent paſſions, and thoſe for wine and women were predominant, after his ambition. They were ſpots in his character before they prevailed by the force of habit: as ſoon as they began to do ſo, the king and the hero appeared leſs, the rake and bully more. Perſepolis was burnt at the inſtigation of Thais, and Clytus was killed in a drunken brawl. He repented indeed of theſe two horrible actions, and was again the king and hero upon many occaſions; but he had not been enough on his guard, when the ſtrongeſt incitements to vanity and to ſenſual pleaſures offered themſelves at every moment to him: and when he ſtood in all his eaſy hours ſurrounded by women and eunuchs, by the pandars, parаſites, and buffoons of a voluptuous court, they who could not approach the king, approached the man, and by ſeducing the man, they betrayed the king. His faults became habits. The Macedonians, who did not

or would not see the one, saw the other; and he fell a sacrifice to their resentments, to their fears, and to those factions that will arise under an odious government, as well as under one that grows into contempt.

Other characters might be brought to contrast with this. The first Scipio Africanus, for example, or the eldest Cato: and there will be no objection to a comparison of such citizens of Rome as these were with kings of the first magnitude. Now the reputation of the first Scipio was not so clear and uncontroverted in private as in public life; nor was he allowed by all, to be a man of such severe virtue, as he affected, and as that age required. Nævius was thought to mean him in some verses Gellius has preserved: and Valerius Antias made no scruple to assert, that, far from restoring the fair Spaniard to her family, he debauched and kept her. Notwithstanding this, what authority did he not maintain? In what esteem and veneration did he not live and die? With what panegyrics has not the whole torrent of writers rolled down his reputation even to these days? This could not have happened, if the vice imputed to him had shewn itself in any scandalous appearances, to eclipse the lustre of the general, the consul, or the citizen. The same reflection might be extended to Cato, who loved wine as well as Scipio loved women. Men did not judge in the days of the elder Cato perhaps, as Seneca was ready to do in those of the younger, that drunkeness could be no crime if Cato drank: but Cato's passion, as well as that of Scipio, was subdued and kept under by his public character. His

virtue

virtue warmed, instead of cooling, by this indulgence to his genius or natural temper: and one may gather from what Tully puts into his mouth in the treatise concerning old age, that even his love of wine was rendered subservient, instead of doing hurt, to the measures he pursued in his public character.

Give me leave to insist a little on the two first Cæsars, and on Marc Anthony. I quote none of them as good men, but I may quote them all as great men, and therefore properly in this place; since a patriot king must avoid the defects that diminish a great character, as well as those that corrupt a good one. Old Curio called Julius Cæsar the husband of every wife, and the wife of every husband, referring to his known adulteries, and to the compliances that he was suspected of in his youth for Nicomedes. Even his own soldiers in the licence of a triumph sung lampoons on him for his profusion as well as lewdness. The youth of Augustus was defamed as much as that of Julius Cæsar, and both as much as that of Anthony. When Rome was ransacked by the pandars of Augustus, and matrons and virgins were stripped and searched like slaves in a market, to chuse the fittest to satisfy his lust, did Anthony do more? When Julius set no bounds to his debauches in Egypt, except those that satiety imposed, *postquam epulis bacchoque modum lassata voluptas imposuit*, when he trifled away his time with Cleopatria in the very crisis of the civil war, and till his troops refused to follow him any further in his effeminate progress up the Nile — did Anthony do more? No, all three had vices which would have been so little borne in any former age

of

of Rome, that no man could have raiſed himſelf under the weight of them to popularity and to power. But we muſt not wonder that the people, who bore the tyrants, bore the libertines; nor that indulgence was ſhewn to the vices of the great, in a city where univerſal corruption and profligacy of manners were eſtabliſhed; and yet even in this city, and among theſe degenerate Romans, certain it is that different appearances, with the ſame vices, helped to maintain the Cæſars, and ruined Anthony. I might produce many anecdotes to ſhew how the two former ſaved appearances whilſt their vices were the moſt flagrant, and made ſo much amends for the appearances they had not ſaved, by thoſe of a contrary kind, that a great part at leaſt of all which was ſaid to defame them, might paſs, and did paſs, for the calumny of party.

But Anthony threw off all decorum from the firſt, and continued to do ſo to the laſt. Not only vice, but indecency became habitual to him. He ceaſed to be a general, a conſul, a triumvir, a citizen of Rome. He became an Egyptian king, ſunk into luxurious effeminacy, and proved he was unfit to govern men, by ſuffering himſelf to be governed by a woman. His vices hurt him, but his habits ruined him. If a political modeſty at leaſt had made him diſguiſe the firſt, they would have hurt him leſs, and he might have eſcaped the laſt: but he was ſo little ſenſible of this, that in a fragment of one of his letters to Auguſtus, which Suetonius has preſerved, he endeavours to juſtify himſelf by pleading this very habit. "What matter is it "whom we ly with? ſays he; this letter may

"find

" find you perhaps with Tertulla, or Terentilla, or " others that he names. I ly with Cleopatra, and " have I not done ſo theſe nine years ?"

Theſe great examples, which I have produced, not to encourage vice, but to ſhew more ſtrongly the advantages of decency in private behaviour, may appear in ſome ſort figures bigger than the life. Few virtues and few vices grow up, in theſe parts of the world, and in theſe latter ages, to the ſize of thoſe I have mentioned; and none have ſuch ſcenes wherein to exert themſelves. But the truths I am deſirous to inculcate will be as juſtly delivered in this manner, and perhaps more ſtrongly felt. Failings or vices that flow from the ſame ſource of human nature, that run the ſame courſe through the conduct of princes, and have the ſame effects on their characters, and conſequently on their government and their fortune, have all the proportion neceſſary to my application of them. It matters little, whether a prince who abandons that common decorum which reſults from nature, and which reaſon preſcribes, abandons the particular decorums of this country or that, of this age or that, which reſults from mode, and which cuſtom exacts. It matters little, for inſtance, whether a prince gives himſelf up to the more groſs luxury of the Weſt, or to the more refined luxury of the Eaſt; whether he become the ſlave of a domeſtic harlot, or of a foreign queen; in ſhort, whether he forget himſelf in the arms of one whore, or of twenty; and whether he imitate Anthony, or a king of Achin, who is reported to have paſſed his whole time in a ſeraglio, eating, and drinking, chewing betel, playing with women, and talking of cock-fighting.

To

To ſum up the whole and draw to a concluſion: this decency, this grace, this propriety of manners to character, is ſo eſſential to princes in particular, that whenever it is neglected, their virtues loſe a great degree of luſtre, and their defects acquire much aggravation. Nay more, by neglecting this decency and this grace, and for want of a ſufficient regard to appearances, even their virtues may betray them into failings, their failings into vices, and their vices into habits unworthy of princes and unworthy of men.

The conſtitutions of governments, and the different tempers and characters of people, may be thought juſtly to deſerve ſome conſideration, in determining the behaviour of princes in private life as well as in public; and to put a difference, for inſtance, between the decorum of a king of France, and that of a king of Great Britain.

Lewis the fourteenth was king in an abſolute monarchy, and reigned over a people whoſe genius makes it as fit perhaps to impoſe on them by admiration and awe, as to gain and hold them by affection. Accordingly he kept great ſtate; was haughty, was reſerved; and all he ſaid or did appeared to be forethought and planned. His regard to appearances was ſuch, that when his miſtreſs was the wife of another man, and he had children by her every year, he endeavoured to cover her conſtant reſidence at court by a place ſhe filled about the queen: and he dined and ſupped and cohabited with the latter in every apparent reſpect as if he had had no miſtreſs at all. Thus he raiſed a great reputation; and he was revered by his ſubjects, and admired

admired by his neighbours: and this was due principally to the art with which he managed appearances, ſo as to ſet off his virtues, to diſguiſe his failings and his vices, and by his example and authority to keep a veil drawn over the futility and debauch of his court.

His ſucceſſor, not to the throne, but to the ſovereign power, was a mere rake, with ſome wit, and no morals; nay, with ſo little regard to them, that he made them a ſubject of ridicule in diſcourſe, and appeared in his whole conduct more profligate, if that could be, than he was in principle. The difference between theſe characters ſoon appeared in abominable effects; ſuch as, cruelty apart, might recal the memory of Nero, or in the other ſex, that of Meſſalina, and ſuch as I leave the chroniclers of ſcandal to relate.

Our Elizabeth was queen in a limited monarchy, and reigned over a people at all times more eaſily led than driven; and at that time capable of being attached to their prince and their country, by a more generous principle than any of thoſe which prevail in our days, by affection. There was a ſtrong prerogative then in being, and the crown was in poſſeſſion of greater legal power. Popularity was however then, as it is now, and as it muſt be always in mixed governments, the ſole true foundation of that ſufficient authority and influence, which other conſtitutions give the prince gratis, and independently of the people, but which a king of this nation muſt acquire. The wiſe queen ſaw it, and ſhe ſaw too how much popularity depends on thoſe appearances, that depend on the decorum, the

decency, the grace, and the propriety of behaviour of which we are ſpeaking. A warm concern for the intereſt and honour of the nation, and a tenderneſs for her people, and a confidence in their affections, were appearances that run through her whole public conduct, and gave life and colour to it. She did great things, and ſhe knew how to ſet them off according to their full value, by her manner of doing them. In her private behaviour ſhe ſhewed great affability, ſhe deſcended even to familiarity; but her familiarity was ſuch as could not be imputed to her weakneſs, and was therefore moſt juſtly aſcribed to her goodneſs. Though a woman, ſhe hid all that was womaniſh about her: and if a few equivocal marks of coquetry appeared on ſome occaſions, they paſſed like flaſhes of lightning, vaniſhed as ſoon as they were diſcerned, and imprinted no blot on her character. She had private friendſhips, ſhe had favourites: but ſhe never ſuffered her friends to forget ſhe was their queen; and when her favourites did, ſhe made them feel that ſhe was ſo.

Her ſucceſſor had no virtues to ſet off, but he had failings and vices to conceal. He could not conceal the latter; and, void of the former, he could not compenſate for them. His failings and his vices therefore ſtanding in full view, he paſſed for a weak prince and an ill man; and fell into all the contempt wherein his memory remains to this day. The methods he took, to preſerve himſelf from it, ſerved but to confirm him in it. No man can keep the decorum of manners in life, who is not free from every kind of affectation, as it has

been

been ſaid already: but he who affects what he has no pretenſions to, or what is improper to his character and rank in the world, is guilty of moſt conſummate folly: he becomes doubly ungracious, doubly indecent, and quite ridiculous. James the firſt, not having one quality to conciliate the eſteem or affection of his people to him, endeavoured to impoſe on their underſtandings; and to create a reſpect for himſelf, by ſpreading the moſt extravagant notions about kings in general, as if they were middle beings between God and other men; and by comparing the extent and unſearchable myſteries of their power and prerogative to thoſe of the divine providence. His language and his behaviour were commonly ſuited to ſuch fooliſh pretenſions; and thus by aſſuming a claim to ſuch reſpect and ſubmiſſion as were not due to him, he loſt a great part of what was due to him. In ſhort, he begun at the wrong end; for though the ſhining qualities of the king may cover ſome failings and ſome vices that do not grow up to ſtrong habits in the man, yet muſt the character of a great and good king be founded in that of a great and good man. A king who lives out of the ſight of his ſubjects, or is never ſeen by them except on his throne, can ſcarce be deſpiſed as a man, though he may be hated as a king. But the king who lives more in their ſight, and more under their obſervation, may be deſpiſed before he is heated, and even without being hated. This happened to king James: a thouſand circumſtances brought it to paſs, and none more than the indecent weakneſſes he had for his minions. He did not endeavour to cure this contempt and raiſe his

character, only by affecting what he had no pretenſions to, as in the former caſe; but he endeavoured likewiſe moſt vainly to do it by affecting what was improper to his character and rank. He did not endeavour indeed to diſguiſe his natural puſillanimity and timidity under the maſk of a bully, whilſt he was impoſed upon and inſulted by all his neighbours, and above all by the Spaniards; but he retailed the ſcraps of Buchannan, affected to talk much, figured in church-controverſies, and put on all the pedantic appearances of a ſcholar, whilſt he neglected all thoſe of a great and good man, as well as king.

Let not princes flatter themſelves. They will be examined cloſely in private as well as in public life: and thoſe who cannot pierce further will judge of them by the appearances they give in both. To obtain true popularity, that which is founded in eſteem and affection, they muſt therefore maintain their characters in both; and to that end neglect appearances in neither, but obſerve the decorum neceſſary to preſerve the eſteem, whilſt they win the affections of mankind. Kings, they muſt never forget that they are men: men, they muſt never forget that they are kings. The ſentiments which one of theſe reflections of courſe inſpires will give an humane and affable air to their whole behaviour, and make them taſte in that high elevation all the joys of ſocial life. The ſentiments that the other reflections ſuggeſts will be found very compatible with the former; and they may never forget that they are kings, though they do not always carry the crown on their heads, nor the ſceptre in their hands.

Vanity

Vanity and folly muſt entrench themſelves in a conſtant affectation of ſtate to preſerve regal dignity: a wiſe prince will know how to preſerve it when he lays his majeſty aſide. He will dare to appear a private man, and in that character he will draw to himſelf a reſpect leſs oſtentatious, but more real and more pleaſing to him, than any which is paid to the monarch. By never ſaying what is unfit for him to ſay, he will never hear what is unfit for him to hear. By never doing what is unfit for him to do, he will never ſee what is unfit for him to ſee. Decency and propriety of manners are ſo far from leſſening the pleaſures of life, that they refine them, and give them an higher taſte: they are ſo far from reſtraining the free and eaſy commerce of ſocial life, that they baniſh the bane of it, licentiouſneſs of behaviour. Ceremony is the barrier againſt this abuſe of liberty in public; politeneſs and decency are ſo in private: and the prince, who practiſes and exacts them, will amuſe himſelf much better, and oblige thoſe who have the honour to be in his intimacy, and to ſhare his pleaſures with him, much more, than he could poſſibly do by the moſt abſolute and unguarded familiarity.

That which is here recommended to princes, that conſtant guard on their own behaviour even in private life, and that conſtant decorum which their example ought to exact from others, will not be found ſo difficult in practice as may be imagined; if they uſe a proper diſcernment in the choice of the perſons whom they admit to the neareſt degrees of intimacy with them. A prince ſhould chuſe his companions with as great care as his miniſters. If he

truſts the buſineſs of his ſtate to theſe, he truſts his characters to thoſe: and his character will depend on theirs much more than is commonly thought. General experience will lead men to judge that a ſimilitude of character determined the choice; even when chance, indulgence to aſſiduity, good nature, or want of reflection had their ſhare in the introduction of men unworthy of ſuch favour. But, in ſuch caſes, certain it is that they, who judged wrong at firſt concerning him, will judge right at laſt. He is not a trifler, for inſtance. Be it ſo: but if he takes trifling futile creatures, men of mean characters, or of no character, into his intimacy, he ſhews a diſpoſition to become ſuch, and will become ſuch, unleſs he breaks theſe habits early, and before puerile amuſements are grown up to be the buſineſs of his life. I mean that the minds of princes, like the minds of other men, will be brought down inſenſibly to the tone of the company they keep.

A worſe conſequence even than this may follow a want of diſcernment in princes how to chuſe their companions, and how to conduct themſelves in private life. Silly kings have reſigned themſelves to their miniſters, have ſuffered theſe to ſtand between them and their people, and have formed no judgements, nor taken any meaſures on their own knowledge, but all implicitly on the repreſentations made to them by their miniſters. Kings of ſuperior capacity have reſigned themſelves in the ſame manner to their favourites, male and female, have ſuffered theſe to ſtand between them and their moſt able and faithful counſellors: their judgments have been influenced, and their meaſures directed by inſinua-

tions

tions of women, or of men as little fitted as women, by nature and education, to be hearkened to, in the great affairs of government. History is full of such examples; all melancholy, many tragical! sufficient, one would imagine, to deter princes, if attended to, from permitting the companions of their idle hours, or the instruments of their pleasures, to exceed the bounds of those provinces. Should a minister of state pretend to vie with any of these, about the forms of a drawing-room, the regulation of a ruelle, the decoration of a ball, or the dress of a fine lady, he would be thought ridiculous, and he would be truly so. But then are not any of these impertinent, when they presume to meddle in things at least as much above them, as those that have been mentioned are below the others? And are not princes who suffer them to do so, unaccountably weak?

What shall I say further on this head? Nothing more is necessary. Let me wind it up therefore by asserting this great truth, that results from what has been already said: As he can never fill the character of a patriot king, though his personal great and good qualities be in every respect equal to it, who lies open to the flattery of courtiers, to the seduction of women, and to the partialities and affections which are easily contracted by too great indulgence in private life; so the prince who is desirous to establish this character, must observe such a decorum, and keep such a guard on himself, as may prevent even the suspicion of being liable to such influences. For as the reality would ruin, the very suspicion will lessen him in the opinion of mankind: and the opinion

opinion of mankind, which is fame after death, is ſuperior ſtrength and power in life.

And now, if the principles and meaſures of conduct, laid down in this diſcourſe, as neceſſary to conſtitute that greateſt and moſt glorious of human beings, a patriot king, be ſufficient to this purpoſe; let us conſider too how eaſy it is, or ought to be, to eſtabliſh them in the minds of princes. They are founded on true propoſitions, all of which are obvious, nay, many of them ſelf-evident. They are confirmed by univerſal experience. In a word, no underſtanding can reſiſt them, and none but the weakeſt can fail, or be miſled, in the application of them. To a prince whoſe heart is corrupt, it is in vain to ſpeak, and for ſuch a prince I would not be thought to write. But if the heart of a prince be not corrupt, theſe truths will find an eaſy ingreſſion through the underſtanding to it. Let us conſider again, what the ſure, the neceſſary effects of ſuch principles and meaſures of conduct muſt be, to the prince, and to the people. On this ſubject let the imagination range through the whole glorious ſcene of a patriot reign: the beauty of the idea will inſpire thoſe tranſports, which Plato imagined the viſion of virtue would inſpire, if virtue could be ſeen. What in truth can be ſo lovely? what ſo venerable, as to contemplate a king on whom the eyes of a whole people are fixed, filled with admiration, and glowing with affection? a king, in the temper of whoſe government, like that of Nerva, things ſo ſeldom allied as empire and liberty are intimately mixed, co-exiſt together inſeparably, and conſtitute one real eſſence? What ſpectacle can be preſented

to

to the view of the mind ſo rare, ſo nearly divine, as a king poſſeſſed of abſolute power, neither uſurped by fraud nor maintained by force, but the genuine effect of eſteem, of confidence, and affection; the free gift of liberty, who finds her greateſt ſecurity in this power, and would deſire no other if the prince on the throne could be, what his people wiſh him to be, immortal. Of ſuch a prince, and of ſuch a prince alone, it may be ſaid with ſtrict propriety and truth,

Volentes
Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympi.

Civil fury will have no place in this draught: or, if the monſter is ſeen, he muſt be ſeen as Virgil deſcribes him,

Centum vinctus catenis
Poſt tergum nodis, fremit horridus ore cruento.

He muſt be ſeen ſubdued, bound, chained, and deprived entirely of power to do hurt. In his place, concord will appear, brooding peace and proſperity on the happy land; joy ſitting in every face, content in every heart; a people unoppreſſed, undiſturbed, unalarmed; buſy to improve their private property and the public ſtock; fleets covering the ocean; bringing home wealth by the returns of induſtry; carrying aſſiſtance or terror abroad by the direction of wiſdom; and aſſerting triumphantly the right and the honour of Great Britain, as far as waters roll and as winds can waft them.

Thoſe

Thoſe who live to ſee ſuch happy days, and to act in ſo glorious a ſcene, will perhaps call to mind with ſome tenderneſs of ſentiment, when he is no more, a man, who contributed his mite to carry on ſo good a work, and who deſired life for nothing ſo much, as to ſee a king of Great Britain the moſt popular man in his country, and a patriot king at the head of an united people.

LETTER III.

OF THE

STATE OF PARTIES

AT THE

Acceſſion of KING GEORGE I.

LETTER III.

Of the STATE of PARTIES, at the Acceſſion of King GEORGE I.

I Perceive by yours, that my diſcourſe of the character and conduct of a patriot king, in that article which relates to party, has not entirely ſatisfied your expectations. You expected, from ſome things that I remember to have ſaid to you in converſation, and others that have fallen on that occaſion from my pen, a more particular application of thoſe general reaſonings to the preſent time, and to the ſtate of parties, from the late king's acceſſion to the throne. The ſubject is delicate enough, and yet I ſhall ſpeak upon it what truth exacts from me, with the utmoſt frankneſs: for I know all our parties too well, to eſteem any; and I am too old, and too reſigned to my fate, to want or to fear any.

Whatever anecdotes you have been told, for you are too young to have ſeen the paſſages of the times I am going to mention, and whatever prepoſſeſſions you have had, take theſe facts for undoubted truths: that there was no deſign on foot during the four laſt

years of Queen Anne's reign, to ſet aſide the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, and to place the crown on the head of the pretender to it; nor any party formed for this purpoſe at the time of the death of that princeſs, whoſe memory I honour, and therefore feel a juſt indignation at the irreverence with which we have ſeen it treated. If ſuch a deſign had been on foot during that time, there were moments when the execution of it would not have been difficult, or dangerous enough, to have ſtopped men of the moſt moderate reſolution. Neither could a deſign of that nature have been carried on ſo long, though it was not carried into execution, without leaving ſome traces, which would have appeared when ſuch ſtrict inquiſitions were made; when the papers of ſo many of the Queen's ſervants were ſeized, and even her own papers, even thoſe ſhe had ſealed up to be burnt after her death, were expoſed to ſo much indecent inſpection. But laying aſide all arguments of the probable kind, I deny the fact abſolutely: and I have the better title to expect credit, becauſe it could not be true without my knowledge, or at leaſt ſuſpicion of it; and becauſe even they who believed it, for all who aſſerted it did not believe it, had no proof to produce, nor have to this hour, but vain ſurmiſes; nor any authority to reſt upon but the clamour of party.

That there were particular men who correſponded indirectly, and directly too, with the Pretender, and with others for his ſervice; that theſe men profeſſed themſelves to be zealous in it, and made large promiſes, and raiſed ſome faint hopes, I cannot doubt; though this was unknown to me at that time,

time, or at leaſt I knew it not with the ſame certainty, and in the ſame detail, that I have known it ſince. But if this was done by ſome who were in the Queen's ſervice, it was done too by ſome who were out of it, and I think with little ſincerity by either.

It may well ſeem ſtrange, to one who carries in his breaſt a heart like yours, that men of any rank, and eſpecially of the higheſt, ſhould hold a conduct ſo falſe, ſo dangerous, always of uncertain event, and often, as it was in the caſe here mentioned, upon remote contingencies, and ſuch as they themſelves think the leaſt probable. Even I think it ſtrange, who have been much longer mingled in a corrupt world, and who have ſeen many more examples of the folly, of the cunning, and the perfidy of mankind. A great regard to wealth, and a total contempt of virtue, are ſentiments very nearly allied: and they muſt poſſeſs the whole ſouls of men whom they can determine to ſuch infamous duplicity, to ſuch double treachery. In fact they do ſo. One is ſo afraid of loſing his fortune, that he lays in claims to ſecure it, perhaps to augment it on all ſides, and to prevent even imaginary dangers. Another values ſo little the inward teſtimony of a good conſcience, or the future reproaches of thoſe he has deceived, that he ſcruples not to take engagements for a time to come that he has no deſign to keep; if they may ſerve as expedients to facilitate, in any ſmall degree, the ſucceſs of an immediate project. As this was done at the time, on the occaſion, and by the perſons I intend. But the ſcheme of defeating the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was ſo

far from being laid by the Queen and her miniſters, and ſuch a reſolution was ſo far from being taken, that the very men I ſpeak of, when they were preſſed by the other ſide, that is, from Verſailles and St. Germains, to be more particular, and to come into a cloſer concert, declined both, and gave the moſt evaſive anſwers.

A little before, or about the time of the Queen's death, ſome other perſons, who figured afterwards in the rebellion, entered in good earneſt into thoſe engagements, as I believe; for I do not know exactly the date of them. But, whenever they took them, they took them as ſingle men. They could anſwer for no party to back them. They might flatter themſelves with hopes and dreams, like Pompey, if little men and little things may be compared with great, of legions ready to riſe at the ſtamp of their feet. But they had no aſſurance, no nor grounds, to expect any troops, except thoſe of the Highlands; whoſe diſpoſition in general was known to every man, but whoſe inſurrection, without the concurrence of other inſurrections and other troops, was deemed, even by thoſe that made them take arms afterwards, not a ſtrength but a weakneſs, ruin to the poor people, and ruin to the cauſe. In a word, theſe men were ſo truly ſingle in their engagements, and their meaſures were ſo unripe for action when the reſolution of acting immediately was taken by them, that I am perſuaded they durſt not communicate their deſign to any one man of conſequence that ſerved at that time with them. What perſuades me of it is this: one man, whom they thought likely to incline to them on ſeveral accounts

counts, they attempted indirectly, and at a great distance: they came no nearer to the point with him, neither then, that is, just before the Queen's death, nor afterwards. They had indeed no encouragement to do it; for upon this hint, and another circumstance which fell in, both he and others took several occasions to declare, that though they would serve the Queen faithfully and exclusively of all other regards or engagements to her last breath, yet, after her decease, they would acknowledge the prince on whom the succession devolved by law, and to whom they had sworn, and no other. This declaration would have been that of the far greatest number of the same party, and would have been stuck to by them, if the passions and private interests of another party had not prevailed over the true interest of a new family that was going to mount the throne. You may ask me now, and the question will not be at all improper, how it came to pass, if the Queen and her ministers had no design to defeat this succession, that so much suspicion of it prevailed, that so great an alarm was taken, and so great a clamour raised? I might answer you very shortly and very truly, by the strange conduct of a first minister, by the contests about the negotiations of the peace, and by the arts of a party.

The minds of some ministers are like the *sanctum sanctorum* of a temple I have read of somewhere: before it a great curtain was solemnly drawn; within it nothing was to be seen but a confused groupe of mis-shapen and imperfect forms, heads without bodies, bodies without heads, and the like. To develope the most complicated cases, and to decide

in the moſt doubtful, has been the talent of great miniſters: it is that of others to perplex the moſt ſimple, and to be puzzled by the plaineſt. No man was more deſirous of power than the miniſter here intended: and he had a competent ſhare of cunning to wriggle himſelf into it; but then his part was over, and no man was more at a loſs how to employ it. The ends he propoſed to himſelf, he ſaw for the moſt part darkly and indiſtinctly: and if he ſaw them a little better, he ſtill made uſe of means diſproportionate to them. That private correſpondence with the Queen, which produced the change of the miniſtry in 1710, was begun with him whilſt he was ſecretary of ſtate, and was continued through him during the two years that intervened between his leaving the court, and his return to it. This gave him the ſole confidence of the Queen, put him more abſolutely at the head of the party that came into power, and inveſted him with all the authority that a firſt miniſter could have in thoſe days, and before any man could preſume to rival in that rank, and in this kingdom, the rank of the ancient mayors of the palace in France. The Tories, with whom and by whom he had riſen, expected much from him. Their expectations were ill anſwered: and I think that ſuch management as he employed, would not have hindered them long from breaking from him, if new things had not fallen in, to engage their whole attention, and to divert their paſſions.

The fooliſh proſecution of Sacheverel had carried party-rage to the height, and the late change of miniſtry had confirmed it there. Theſe circumſtances,

and

and many others relative to them, which I omit, would have made it impoſſible, if there had been honeſty and wiſdom enough to deſire it, to bring about a coalition of the bulk of the Tories and Whigs at the latter end of this reign: as it had been brought about a few years before, under the adminiſtration of my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin, who broke it ſoon, and before it had time to cement, by making ſuch an uſe of it as I am unable to account for, even at this hour. The two parties were in truth become factions, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word. I was of one, and I own the guilt; which no man of the other would have a good grace to deny. In this reſpect they were alike; but here was the difference: one was well united, well conducted, and determined to their future, as well as their preſent objects. Not one of theſe advantages attended the other. The miniſter had evidently no bottom to reſt his adminiſtration upon, but that of the party, at the head of which he came into power: if he had reſted it there, if he had gained their confidence, inſtead of creating even wantonly, if I may ſo ſay, a diſtruſt of himſelf in them, it is certain he might have determined them to every national intereſt during the Queen's time, and after her death. But this was above his conception as well as his talents. He meant to keep power as long as he could, by the little arts by which he had got into it: he thought that he ſhould be able to compound for himſelf in all events, and cared little what became of his party, his miſtreſs, or the nation. That this was the whole of his ſcheme, appeared ſufficiently in the

courſe

courſe of his adminiſtration; was then ſeen by ſome, and has been ſince acknowledged by all people. For this purpoſe he coaxed and perſecuted Whigs, he flattered and diſappointed Tories; and ſupported by a thouſand little tricks his tottering adminiſtration. To the Tory party he held out the peace, as an æra when all they expected ſhould be done for them, and when they ſhould be placed in ſuch fulneſs of power, and ſuch ſtrength of party, "that it would "be more the intereſt of the ſucceſſor to be well "with them, than theirs to be well with him." Such expreſſions were often uſed, and others of like import: and I believe theſe oracular ſpeeches were interpreted, as oracles uſed to be, according as every man's inclinations led him.

The conteſts that ſoon followed, by the violent oppoſition to the negotiations of peace, did the good hinted at above to the miniſter, and enabled him to amuſe and banter his party a little longer. But they did great, and in ſome reſpects irreparable, miſchief to Great Britain, and to all Europe. One part of the miſchief they did at home, is proper to be mentioned here. They dipped the houſe of Hanover in our party quarrels unſeaſonably, I preſume to think, and impopularly: for though the conteſt was maintained by two parties, that pretended equally to have the national intereſt at heart, yet the national intereſt was ſo plainly on one ſide of the queſtion, and the other ſide was ſo plainly partial; at the expence of this intereſt, to the emperor, the princes of the empire, and the Dutch in particular; that a ſucceſſor to the crown, who was himſelf a prince of Germany, ſhould have preſerved in good

policy,

policy, for this very reaſon, the appearance at leaſt of ſome neutrality. The means employed openly to break the Queen's meaſures were indecent and unjuſtifiable: thoſe employed ſecretly, and meditated to be employed, were worſe. The miniſters of Hanover, whoſe conduct I may cenſure the more freely becauſe the late King did not approve it all, took ſo remarkable a ſhare in the firſt, that they might be, and they were, ſuſpected of having ſome in the others. This had a very bad effect, which was improved by men in the two extremes. The Whigs deſired nothing more than to have it thought that the ſucceſſor was theirs, if I may repeat an inſolent expreſſion which was uſed at that time: the notion did them honour, and though it could give no colour, it gave ſome ſtrength to their oppoſition. The Jacobites inſinuated induſtriouſly the ſame thing; and repreſented, that the eſtabliſhment of the houſe of Hanover would be the eſtabliſhment of the Whig party, and that the intereſts of Great Britain would be conſtantly ſacrificed to foreign intereſts, and her wealth drained to ſupport them under that family. I leave you to judge what ingreſſion ſuch exaggerations muſt find, on ſuch occaſion, and in ſuch a ferment. I do not think they determined men to Jacobitiſm. I know they did not; but I know that they diſinclined men from the ſucceſſion, and made many, who reſolved to ſubmit to it, ſubmit to it rather as a neceſſary evil, than as an eligible good.

This was, to the beſt of my obſervation and knowledge, the ſtate of one party. An abſurd one it was, and the conſequences of it were foreſeen, fore-

foretold, and preſſed upon the miniſter at the time, but always without effect, and ſometimes without any anſwers. He had ſome private intrigue for himſelf at Hanover: ſo he had at Bar. He was the bubble of one in the end: the Pretender was ſo of the other. But his whole management in the mean time was contrived to keep up a kind of general indetermination in the party, about the ſucceſſion; which made a man of great temper once ſay to him, with paſſion, that "he believed no other "miniſter at the head of a powerful party would "not be better at Hanover, if he did not mean to "be worſe there."

The ſtate of the other party was this. The Whigs had appeared zealous for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, from the time when King William propoſed it, after the death of the Duke of Glouceſter. The Tories voted for it then, and the acts that were judged neceſſary to ſecure it, ſome of them at leaſt, were promoted by them. Yet were they not thought nor did they affect as the others did, to be thought extremely fond of it. King William did not come into this meaſure, till he found, upon trial, that there was no other ſafe and practicable: and the Tories had an air of coming into it for no other reaſon. Beſides which, it is certain that there was, at that time, a much greater leaven of Jacobitiſm in the Tory-lump, than at the time ſpoken of here.

Now thus far the Whigs acted like a national party, who thought that their religion and liberty could be ſecured by no other expedient, and therefore adhered to this ſettlement of the crown with diſtin-

diſtinguiſhed zeal. But this national party degenerated ſoon into faction; that is, the national intereſt became ſoon a ſecondary and ſubſervient motive, and the cauſe of the ſucceſſion was ſupported more for the ſake of the party or faction, than for the ſake of the nation; and with views that went more directly to the eſtabliſhment of their own adminiſtration, than to a ſolid ſettlement of the preſent royal family. This appeared, evidently enough, to thoſe whom noiſe and ſhew could not impoſe upon, in the latter end of the Queen's reign, and plain beyond diſpute to all mankind, after her deceaſe. The art of the Whigs was to blend, as undiſtinguiſhably as they could, all their party-intereſts with thoſe of the ſucceſſion: and they made juſt the ſame factious uſe of the ſuppoſed danger of it, as the Tories had endeavoured to make ſome time before of the ſuppoſed danger of the church. As no man is reputed a friend to Chriſtianity, beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees, who does not acknowledge the papal ſupremacy, ſo here no man was to be reputed a friend to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, who was not ready to acknowledge their ſupremacy. The intereſt of the preſent royal family was to ſucceed without oppoſition and riſque, and to come to the throne in a calm. It was the intereſt of a faction that they ſhould come to it in a ſtorm. Accordingly the Whigs were very near putting in execution ſome of the wildeſt projects of inſurrections and rebellion, under pretence of ſecuring what there was not ſufficient diſpoſition, nor any preparation at all made to obſtruct. Happily for the public theſe deſigns proved abortive. They were

too

too well known to have ſucceeded, but they might have had, and they would have had, moſt fatal conſequences. The ſtorm, that was not raiſed to diſturb and endanger the late king's acceſſion, was only deferred. To a party, who meant nothing leſs than engroſſing the whole power of the government, and the whole wealth of the nation under the ſucceſſor, a ſtorm in which every other man ſhould be driven from him, was too neceſſary not to be conjured up at any rate; and it was ſo immediately after the late king's acceſſion. He came to the throne eaſily and quietly, and took poſſeſſion of the kingdom with as little trouble as he could have expected, if he had been not only the queen's ſucceſſor, but her ſon. The whole nation ſubmitted cheerfully to his government, and the queen's ſervants diſcharged the duty of their offices, whilſt he continued them in their offices, in ſuch a manner as to merit his approbation. This was ſignified to ſome of them, to the ſecretaries in particular, in the ſtrongeſt terms, and according to his majeſty's expreſs order, before the whole council of ſtate. He might I think, I thought then that he ought, and every man except the Earl of O——d, who believed, or had a mind to make others believe, that his influence would be great in the new reign, expected that he would have given his principal confidence, and the principal power of the adminiſtration to the Whigs: but it was ſcarce poſſible to expect, that he would immediately let looſe the whole fury of party, ſuffer the queen's ſervants, who had ſurely been guilty of no crime againſt him nor the ſtate, to be ſo bitterly perſecuted; and proſcribe in effect every man in the country

try who did not bear the name of Whig. Princes have often forgot, on their acceſſion to a throne, even perſonal injuries received in party quarrels: and the ſaying of Lewis the twelfth of France, in anſwer to thoſe who would have perſuaded him to ſhew ſeverity to La Tremouille, is very deſervedly famous, "God forbid, ſaid he, that Lewis the twelfth "ſhould revenge the quarrels of the Duke of Or-"leans." Other princes, who have fought their way to the throne, have not only exerciſed clemency, but ſhewn favour to thoſe who have ſtood in arms againſt them: and here again I might quote the example of another king of France, that of Henry the fourth. But to take an example in our own country, look back to the reſtoration, conſider all that paſſed from the year 1641 to the year 1660, and then compare the meaſures that King Charles the ſecond was adviſed to purſue for the eſtabliſhment of his government in the circumſtances of that time, with thoſe which the late king was adviſed, and prevailed on, againſt his opinion, inclination, and firſt reſolution, to purſue, in the circumſtances I have juſt mentioned. I leave the concluſion to the candour and good ſenſe of every impartial reader.

To theſe meaſures of unexpected violence alone, it muſt be aſcribed, that the Pretender had any party for him, of ſtrength ſufficient to appear and act. Theſe meaſures alone produced the troubles that followed, and dyed the royal ermines of a prince, no way ſanguinary, in blood. I am far from excuſing one party, for ſuffering another to drive them into rebellion. I wiſh I could forget it myſelf. But

there are two obſervations on that event, which I cannot refuſe myſelf to make. One is, that the very manner in which this rebellion was begun, ſhews abundantly that it was a ſtart of paſſion, a ſudden phrenzy of men tranſported by their reſentment, and nothing leſs than the execution of a deſign long premeditated and prepared. The other is, that few examples are to be found in hiſtory, perhaps none, of what happened on this occaſion, when the ſame men, in the ſame country, and in the compaſs of the ſame year, were ready to riſe in arms againſt one prince without any national cauſe; and then provoked by the violence of their councils, the oppoſite faction to riſe in actual rebellion againſt the ſucceſſor.

Theſe are ſome of the effects of maintaining diviſions in a nation, and of governing by faction. I might deſcend into a detail of many fatal conſequences that have followed, from the firſt falſe ſtep which was taken, when the preſent ſettlement was ſo avowedly made on the narrow bottom of party. But I conſider that this diſcourſe is growing into length; that I have had, and ſhall have, occaſion to mention ſome of theſe conſequences elſewhere; and that your own reflections on what has been ſaid, will more than ſupply what I omit to ſay in this place. Let me therefore conclude by repeating, That diviſion has cauſed all the miſchief we lament, that union can alone retrieve it, and that a great advance towards this union was the coalition of parties, ſo happily begun, ſo ſucceſsfully carried on, and of late ſo unaccountably neglected, to ſay no

worſe

worſe. But let me add, that this union can never be compleat, till it become an union of the head with the members, as well as of the members with one another: and that ſuch an union can never be expected till patriotiſm fills the throne, and faction be baniſhed from the adminiſtration.

THE END.